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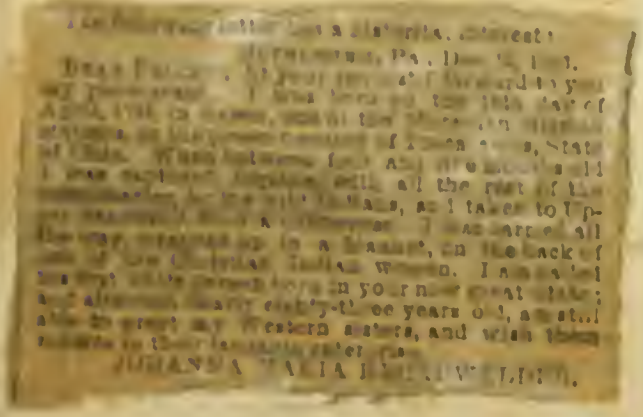

See Hist. Trans. Vol I Pa. 85-
also Penn. State Papers Archives
Hist. Vol 2 Pa 372 to 391

Rev. W. Eastburn

FROM A PORTRAIT PAINTED AT THE AGE OF FORTY.

A

NARRATIVE

OF THE

MISSION OF THE UNITED BRETHREN

AMONG THE

DELAWARE AND MOHEGAN INDIANS,

FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT, IN THE YEAR 1740, TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1808.

COMPRISING

ALL THE REMARKABLE INCIDENTS WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THEIR MISSIONARY STATIONS DURING THAT PERIOD.

INTERSPERSED WITH

ANECDOTES, HISTORICAL FACTS, SPEECHES OF INDIANS, AND OTHER INTERESTING MATTER.

Gottlieb Ernestus
BY JOHN HECKEWELDER,
Who was many years in the service of that Mission.

PHILADELPHIA:
PUBLISHED BY M'CARTY & DAVIS.

1820.

2514

EASTERN DISTRICT OF PENNSYLNANIA, to wit:

BE it Remembered, That on the twenty-fourth day of July, in the forty-fifth year of the Independence of the United States of America, A. D. 1820, M'Carty & Davis, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

L. S.

"A narrative of the mission of the United Brethren among the Dele-
" ware and Mohegan Indians, from its commencement, in the year
" 1740, to the close of the year 1808. Comprising all the remarkable
" incidents which took place at their missionary stations, during that
" period. Inter-persed with anecdotes, historical facts, speeches of
" Indians, and other interesting matter. By John Heckewelder, who
" was many years in the service of that mission."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entituled, "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned." And also to the act, entitled, "An Act supplementary to an act, entitled, 'An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

INTRODUCTION.

THE frequent applications that have been made to me, both verbally and by letters, within the last thirty years; for "a faithful relation of all the remarkable events that occurred at the missionary stations of the United Brethren, from the commencement of missions among the northern Indians,—bringing to view, the principal difficulties, that the missionaries had laboured under—the obstacles thrown in their way, while engaged in the laudable work of instructing the Indians in the Christian doctrine—the *real*, or assigned causes of such acts, as had a tendency to discourage the measure, or proved an obstacle towards propagating the Gospel among those people, and the consequences resulting therefrom; together with the course the Christian Indians had pursued, during persecutions, troubles, wars; &c. has induced me to comprise all remarkable external

occurrances, and otherwise interesting matter, connected with the subject, or appertaining to it, in a narrative of this mission.

I have preferred this mode of giving the information requested; since the facts to be related, would thereby be properly connected, and better understood, than by combining with it, subjects of a different nature. Nevertheless, the internal state of the Indian congregations at the time, and at all periods, is as far this narrative extends, sufficiently exhibited.

Far from being deterred by the false reports and assertions that have sometimes been made by individuals, either from ignorance, or malice; yet, apparently with intent to cast an odium on the character of the Christian Indians, whom they call "Moravian Indians:"—I have written with the greater freedom, and related such incontrovertible facts, as appeared to me necessary, for the impartial reader to know; assuring him that I will vouch for the truth of what I have written.

"Loskiel's history of the mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians," (from which, several late writers on missions have copied into their works,) contains a most faithful account of the *internal* state of this mission, comprehending nearly the whole period of time, to which this narrative extends; while it is to be regretted, that from a want of materials at the time he was writing, that part, relating to externals, is in some of its essential parts, found to be deficient.

The fact is: that some of the most interesting diaries of the missionaries, were lost during troubles and wars, so that the historian had it not always in his power, to bring daily occurrences into proper connexion; nor to state a number of facts of great importance, well known to the writer of this work.

In the narrative here presented, which by the bye, I believe, will be found to correspond in its principal parts with Loskiel's history—and from which I have in some instances copied passages—nothing is omitted, that may tend to throw light on any subject of importance, so that the reader, will not only have a clear view of the situation, in which the Christian Indian congregations were placed at all times—and more especially during the time of the revolutionary wars; but will also be able to make up his mind, whether the "Moravian Indians," as they are called, were deserving of the charges laid against them, by ignorant, evil minded, and designing men; or had conducted themselves properly, and acted at all times prudently, and with the caution, which at *that* time was more particularly requisite.

The course which the missionaries, who dwelt with the Indians, had to pursue, was plainly marked out to them. They did not go among those people, for the sake of earthly gain; neither to serve a party. Their sole object was, that of bringing them the good tidings, that Christ had come into this world—suffered and died on the cross, for the sins of mankind—and to

teach them the way to salvation. Under this commission, they considered themselves as messengers serving the God of Peace, who himself had pronounced a blessing on peace-makers;* and indeed, as such only, they were permitted by the nations, to dwell among them.

The Christian Indians under their care, obedient to the commandment of God : "thou shalt not kill"—and adhering to the precepts of the gospel, as given to all Christians, both by our Lord and master, and by his apostles—as also in conformity to the will of the chiefs and great council of the nation, who as rulers had power over them; and under whose protection they lived ; strove to live in peace with all mankind, of whatever nation or colour they might be : nay, they even sought to preserve lives from destruction, whenever they had it in their power, and acted thus purely from principle, and by the impulse of the Christian spirit dwelling within them. They were however, as this narrative will show, by the one side persecuted and distressed for doing what they considered to be Christian duties ; while from the other side, a great number of them, the one half women and children, were barbarously murdered, under the false pretence, that they were enemies and warriors.

Christian reader ! and all who wish the gospel to be

* St. Matthew's Gospel, chap. v. verse 9

preached to the heathen nations! Let me entreat you to keep in mind, that, while reading this narrative you are in a manner accompanying a people, who, having embraced Christianity, were desirous of living in peace by themselves, for the purpose of leading a godly life, and had withdrawn themselves from their heathen friends and connexions. The particulars respecting their conversion and religious exercises—the troubles, persecutions, and severe trials they as Christians had to endure—their patience, resignation and fortitude, under these trials, together with their stedfastness and faith, not only in the hour of death, on a sick bed, but also under the mallet,* tomahawk and scalping knife, you will find faithfully depicted, in" Loskiels history of the mission of the United Brethren, among the North American Indians."

And let me assure all the honest and well meaning who have suffered themselves to be deceived, in being led to believe, that the " Moravian Indians," have always been your enemies, and killed your people while they lived on the Muskingum ;—I say, let me assure you, that you have been imposed upon. Let me further inform you, that from early in the fall of the year 1771, until late in the fall of the year 1786, I was, with the exception of a few months, con-

* A single man, by his own confession, knocked down fourteen of these innocents at Gnadenhutten, with a cooper's mallet which he had picked up at the place.

stantly with those, so falsely accused, Indians ; and that so far from their joining in the war, they followed their agricultural pursuit, the whole time they lived on the Muskingum ; and whenever they had it in their power, to save the life of a poor prisoner, by petition or purchase, they did so, without looking for any recompense.—They attended their daily meetings regularly for devotion, both morning and evening,—kept the Sabbath day holy ; and lived in peace together, until their settlements were broken up by a host of Indian warriors from the side of the British—their property destroyed—their ministers taken prisoners; and with themselves forcibly carried, or driven off to the barren plains of Upper Sandusky, whence again, they were subsequently driven, because they could not be induced to join in the war, and turn out to fight the American people.

Now reader ! permit me to ask the following questions. *First* : Can it be possible to believe, that these " Moravian Indians," more than two thirds of whom were women and children, would have remained where they were, the nearest neighbours to the white settlers on the Ohio, and the only Indians then in the parts, if they had been enemies and warriors ? Could they, as such, have considered themselves even for a day in safety, where they were exposed to an attack from the American side ? Has it not been for more than half a century, a well known fact, that the first

step Indian warriors take, previous to their going out against an enemy, is to remove their families and effects, out of the reach of their enemy? And was it not known, at the time these "Moravian Indians" resided on the Muskingum, that all those Indians, who were engaged in the war, had moved back to the Sandusky's; a greater distance from the "Moravian towns," than these were from the settlements of the white people, on the Ohio river.

Secondly. Would Christian missionaries, (and those with families and small children,) have chosen to stay —nay, thought themselves *safe*, in remaining with these Indians, if they had laid aside Christianity, and turned warriors and murderers? I am positive, that neither persuasion, nor any consideration whatever, would have induced any one of us, to have remained an hour longer with such a people, than absolute necessity required. Do not therefore assertions, which declare the Christian, or "Moravian" Indians, while living on the Muskingum, to have been "enemies and murderers," tend to criminate their ministers also? to brand them with infamy, in residing among a band of such men?

Thirdly. How do such accusations, and assertions agree with the fact: that the remnant of these pretended "enemies and murderers," (the "Moravian Indians;") after upwards of ninety of their number had been murdered by Williamson's party, did not turn

out to a man, and take revenge on those *white murderers*; but on the other hand chose to follow their exiled ministers beyond lake Erie, where they again could hear the gospel preached, and live in quietness and peace.

The reader of this narrative, will in its proper place, meet with a note, by which he will see, how completely one of this kind of impostors was in 1789, (in the presence of a minister of the gospel,) detected by the writer of this narrative.

I have yet to take notice of a class of people, generally known to us, by the name of "backwoods men," many of whom acting up to a pretended belief, that "an Indian has no more soul than a buffalo;" and that to kill either, is the same thing; have from time to time, by their conduct, brought great trouble and bloodshed on the country. Such then, I wish to caution, not to sport in that manner with the lives of God's creatures. Have we not every reason to believe on scripture authority, that God bestowed souls on all men without regard to colour or complexion, ? Think ye then, of *what* you are doing by holding forth such wicked language among yourselves, and before your children, for the purpose of encouraging murder! Believe, that a time will come, when you must account for such vile deeds! When those who have fallen a sacrifice to your wickedness, will be called forth in judgment against you! nay,

when your own descendants will testify against you!—will say: we were taught by our parents to believe this!—we were told, when we had killed an Indian, that we had done a *good* act!—had killed a wild beast, &c.

There remains yet one subject to touch upon; I allude to the question which often has been put to me, and which frequently has been discussed, though perhaps never properly investigated, namely: "to what cause, or causes it is to be ascribed, that hitherto, so little progress has been made in civilizing the Aborigines of this country? and, whether it is owing to a disinclination in them, to change the life of the hunter, to that of the husbandman; or, whether it proceeds from a neglect on our side, in not aiding or properly supporting the measure!"

Being both from shame and horror, prevented from expatiating on this subject; as it would lead to an exposure of the *whole* conduct of the white people, towards such as *had* changed their mode of life, and embraced Christianity. I leave the reader of this narrative to draw his own conclusion; and the better to enable him to do it, I have impartially, and fully exhibited all the principal hindrances, thrown in the way by the Indians, and the objections *they* assign, as operating against effecting this end.

This narrative is written in the plainest style, so that it may be understood by all; my wish being, that

it may be read, by that class of people which I have above alluded to. So in relating Indian speeches, I have given them as they were spoken, without changing or modifying expressions, to suit our language.

I have only to add further, that the narration here presented, commences with the beginning of the mission of the United Brethren among the northern Indians, in 1740, and ends with the year 1808, in which the worthy senior missionary David Zeisberger, who had faithfully served the Lord's cause among the Indians for sixty-two years, departed this life, and of whom a striking likeness is prefixed as a frontispiece, to this work.

THE NARRATOR.

A NARRATIVE, &c.

THE ancient Episcopal Church, called Unitas-Fratrum, after their restoration about the year 1720, in gratitude to our Lord Jesus Christ, for the blessings conferred on them, believed it to be their duty to use their best endeavours to propagate the gospel among the heathen.

In consequence of which, as early as the year 1732, their first missionaries were sent to the Danish West India islands; and in the following year a mission was begun in Greenland.

Since that time missions were established in Jamaica; Barbadoes; St. Christopher's; Antigua; Terra Labrador among the Esquimaux; at the Cape of Good Hope among the Hottentots; in Berbice and Surinam in South America, and in some parts of North America, nearly all of which have, under the blessing of God, been continued to the present time.

In the Year 1735, missionaries arrived in Georgia, from Europe, with an intention to preach the gospel to the Creek Indians: but these, after having been at the expense of making improvements, were placed in

a very disagreeable situation, occasioned by the hostile disposition of their neighbours, the Spaniards, who were endeavouring to expel all the English from Georgia; the result of which, was a war between Great Britain and Spain, and the breaking up of the settlement of the Brethren in 1739.

The missionaries and assistants, fled from thence to Pennsylvania; where, under a mild and generous government, they hoped to become instrumental towards the conversion of the natives in those parts.

Whilst those emigrants, now out of employ, were contemplating their future destiny, the Rev. Mr. Whitefield, invited them to settle on a tract of land between sixty and seventy miles north of Philadelphia, which he had purchased, with the intention of establishing on it a free school for negro children, and where he had already laid the foundation for a large stone house which the brethren were to erect for him, but which, after having employed much labour on it, they had to leave unfinished, and withdraw from the land; partly because the Indians who were settled on the tract could not reconcile themselves to abandon such a favourite spot, which they considered as not fairly purchased of them, and had indeed manifested hostile intentions in case these should not withdraw from the land—and partly because Mr. Whitefield became somewhat embarrassed, so that he could not go on with the building. The proprietor had already given to this place the name of Nazareth.

Meanwhile a gentleman of Philadelphia offered to sell to the Brethren a tract of land in the forks of Delaware, ten miles nearer to that city than Mr. Whitefield's tract, which being situate towards the country inhabited by the Indians, they purchased, built houses on it, and called the place Bethlehem.

To be enabled to support such missionaries as should be sent from time to time among the Indians—to have a place of retirement for those worn down with fatigue; and to use it occasionally as an asylum; was a principal object in making this purchase, which afterwards was found fully to answer the purpose.

After Mr. Whitefield's return from Georgia, in 1743, whither he had gone on the breaking up of his intended Nazareth settlement, he offered the manor of that place, together with the unfinished building, to the Brethren for sale: and all the disputes with the Indians about the land, having previously been settled, partly by compromise,* and partly by treaty with the Five Nations, they purchased the manor, and finished the house.

In 1740, the first missionary was sent to visit the Indians then residing in the provinces of New York and Connecticut. His instructions, were "not in anywise to interfere with the labours of other missionaries or ministers, or cause any disturbance among them; but silently to observe whether any of the heathen were, by the grace of God, prepared

* See Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, Cap. XLIV. p. 336.

to receive, and believe the word of life—that if even only one was to be found desirous of hearing; to him the gospel should be preached; for God must give the heathen, ears to hear the gospel, and hearts to receive it."

With these instructions, the missionary, Christian Henry Rauch, (a very amiable and pious man,) sat out, otherwise knowing nothing of the people to whom he was to preach the gospel, nor even where to find them, being an utter stranger in the land; but, being assured of his call, he placed full confidence in God that he would assist him, and lead him to those heathen to whom he was sent.

On his arrival at New York, the 16th July, 1740, he accidently met with a missionary who had come directly from St. Thomas, and was by him introduced to some pious friends, of whom he expected to obtain information respecting the heathen to whom he was going; these however, far from encouraging him to proceed in his laudable undertaking, rather dissuaded him from it, representing those Indians as a set of debauched beings, among whom no European could dwell in safety; and it so happening, that during his stay at New York, an embassy to government arrived from the very people to whom he was going, he had an opportunity of observing the opinion of his pious friends verified; these Indians being from day to day in a state of intoxication; yet, at length finding them tractable, he formed an ac-

quaintance with them; and receiving an invitation to pay them a visit at their towns, he gladly accepted the offer, not in the least despairing that by preaching the gospel to them, they might through the grace of God, be brought to the knowledge of Christ, and become new creatures.

Having arrived at Shekomeko, an Indian village bordering on Connecticut, near the the Stissik Mountain, he began his missionary labours; and, although many objections were made by the white settlers to the cause in which he was engaged, and notwithstanding all the obstacles and machinations which they threw in his way, he, with a manly perseverance, continued preaching the gospel; and had the satisfaction to find, that before the end of the year, it had moved the hearts of some, and brought them to a sense of their depravity by nature; and believing in the word, that Christ came into the world to bring sinners to repentance, that they might be saved, they were considered as candidates for holy baptism—and being further instructed in the Christian religion, the three first were baptized on the 22d February, 1742; and before the close of the year, twenty-six more were added to that number.

Meanwhile Count Zinzendorf, a German nobleman, who had been particularly instrumental in the restoration of the church of Unitas-Fratrum, and by its members had been appointed the principal elder of that society, had come over to this country with a view

to see, not only the Brethren's establishments in Pennsylvania, but also to be a witness of the fruits of their labours among the heathen. Rejoicing at their success, and finding that the harvest of the Lord required more hands, the missionary was supplied with assistants, and having made the proper regulations among them, so necessary in a Christian congregation, and for the better keeping of order, some of the baptized were appointed to help them.

The light soon spread abroad: and at an Indian settlement on Kent river in Connecticut, (called by the natives Pachgatgoch, and by the whites, Scatticok) consisting chiefly of the Wampano tribe, a number were converted and supplied with missionaries, the same as had taken place at Shekomeko; and having at each of these settlements built themselves a place of worship, in which they daily met for divine service, they were happy.

Three years had scarcely elapsed, from the commencement of this mission, before their white neighbours began to trouble, and even to persecute them. In the beginning they had represented the Indians to the missionaries as a race of savages, incapable of embracing the Christian religion; and that it would be next to madness, to attempt to dwell among them.—Now that it was manifest that a number of them had embraced Christianity, and lead a Christian life, they would not permit them to enjoy Christian privileges; every device was resorted to, to have these missiona-

ries banished out of the country.—The loss the whites sustained in not having these Indians in their interest and under controul as formerly, when they were accustomed to take unlawful liberties and advantages of them, by defrauding them of their just due for labour, by imposing liquor upon them, thereby encouraging intoxication for the sake of gain, was considered by them as a serious loss; added to this, the Indian converts would frequently detect and reprimand offenders, which these white men could not relish; and ascribing the cause of the change in the life and morals of those Indians, to the missionaries, they sought by every stratagem to get rid of them, and some even offered liquor to any Indian that would kill them.

The next step which they took, was to charge the missionaries with being an evil minded, designing people, and disaffected to the government; in consequence of which, they were taken from one place to another to be examined; sometimes by a magistrate, at other times by ministers. Two of them were kept for some time at New Milford, while the others were ordered to Peckipsi,* (Poughkeepsie) and there maltreated; until at length being brought before the governor of Connecticut, and by him examined, they were declared innocent and discharged.

But here the matter did not rest. They were accused of being secret papists and traitors; and in-

* Peckipsi, the Indian name of the place.

sulted and persecuted as such.—It was said that they were allied to the French in Canada, and fomented the disturbances which then had taken place—that they intended to furnish the Indians with arms and ammunition to fight the English. A clergyman in Dover had positively asserted in a letter that they were papists, and of course could not be suffered to remain in the country. —Another person publicly declared, that the Brethren were in possession of three thousand stand of arms for the use of those Indians, who would join the French and make inroads into Pennsylvania.

In consequence of these reports, the missionaries (who had already been dragged about the country from one place to another for examination) were, on the 15th day of December, 1744, unexpectedly called on by the sheriff, and three justices of the peace, who had come to Shekomeko for the purpose, in the name of the governor and council of New York, to prohibit all meetings of the Brethren; at the same time, commanding the missionaries to appear at Poughkeepsie on the 17th of that month.

During these troubles, and a few weeks previous to the sheriff's announcing the prohibition of all meetings of the Brethren, the reverend Bishop Spangenberg, to whom the affairs of the Brethren in North America had been committed by the Directors of the society in Europe, arrived at New York; and hearing of the situation in which the congregation at Shekomeko was placed, he immediately repaired

thither, much to the joy and comfort of his persecuted Brethren, and the Indian congregation.

Although the missionaries, wherever they had been examined before courts or magistrates, had not only always been honourably acquitted of the charges laid against them, but also such testimony given in their favour by magistrates and others, of the good they were doing among the Indians (and, as the justice of the peace at Filkentown expressed himself, "that he must acknowledge the mission in Shekomeko to be a work of God, because, by the labour of the Brethren, the most savage heathen had been so evidently changed, that he, and many other Christians were put to shame, by their godly walk and conversation")—yet the adversaries of the Brethren would continue to accuse them; setting forth, that they were a dangerous people, and ought to be driven out of the country.

That the Brethren were conscientiously scrupulous of taking an oath, was, with their accusers, a great crime; and they prevailed on the governor of New York, to have them brought before him for examination. Being arrived, the attention of the whole town was raised.—They were considered as disturbers of the peace, and deserving of either imprisonment, whipping, or banishment.—However a justice of the peace from Reinbeck, by whom these Brethren had some time previously been examined, happening at this time to be in New York, publicly took their part, and affirm-

ed—"that the good done by them (these Brethren) among the Indians, was undeniable."

On the 11th of August they were ordered before the governor and court, and separately examined, and on the following day, they were in like manner examined before the council.—At length, on the 21st, they were discharged by the governor through his secretary—permitted to go home and "live according to their religious tenets, in such manner that no suspicions might arise concerning them." And to secure them against a mob, they were furnished with a certificate of their acquittal, by the governor.

Yet the senior missionary Buttner, who previous to this had been ordered to appear at Poughkeepsie, had to obey the summons, though suffering much in his health, which had been greatly impaired by the troubles and hardships he had already endured—after waiting and suffering with cold for several days, a friend, who pitied his situation, urged the court to bring his case on; when the court finding that he was already possessed of a certificate of dismission by the governor, he was permitted to depart without further examination.

Although the governor of New York, had in August preceding, permitted the missionaries to return home, and "live according to their religious tenets," yet the enemies of the Brethren continued accusing them, as being a suspicious people, who ought not to be tolerated. That they would not swear, or make

oath when required, was with many a sufficient cause to suspect them. Indeed, at that time, the laws of the country required that every inhabitant should make two oaths, the one, "that King George being the lawful sovereign of the kingdom, he would not in any way encourage the pretender"—the other, "that he rejected transubstantiation—the worship of the Virgin Mary—purgatory," &c. a copy of which oaths had been delivered to the missionary.

Although these oaths, in substance, contained nothing but what was consonant with the principles of the Brethren, and to which they at any time would have subscribed, yet for conscience sake they wished to be excused from *swearing*. They would notcondemn those who took a lawful oath; and would willingly themselves submit to the punishment inflicted upon perjured persons, if they were found acting contrary to the asseveration made by *yes* or *no*.

The assembly however, at the repeated calls and demands of the adversaries of the Brethren, passed at their meeting in October, of that year, two acts; by one of which "all suspicious persons were enjoined to take the oaths of allegiance, and in case of refusal to be compelled to leave the province;"—the other, "positively prohibiting the Brethren to instruct the Indians."

The Brethren, who now were like strangers in the land, since they dare no more meet with their Indian congregation for divine service, nor even abide with them where they were, had to delay their departure

for a while, on account of the bad state of health of the senior missionary, Gottlieb Buttner; and who, on the 23d of February, 1745, departed this life, aged twenty-nine years.

Of this worthy missionary it can truly be said, that while he lived he lived unto the Lord; to serve him was his greatest delight; for the things of this world he cared nothing; being of a delicate constitution he could not long endure such hardships and troubles as he had been compelled to undergo, occasioned by the accusations and evil reports which were spread throughout the country by the enemies of the Brethren against him, without sinking under the load.

When near his end, the national assistants being assembled at his bed side, he exhorted them, with his dying lips, to abide faithful unto the Lord, to the end—then desiring them to sing some verses, he expired while they were singing.

The Indian converts having taken the burial duties and ceremony upon themselves, since the white brethren (their teachers) dare not officiate; they, to show their regard, purchased linens; and having dressed his corps decently in white, interred his remains with christian solemnity in the burying ground at Shekomeko, watering his grave with their tears.

Soon after the burial, the christian Indians assembled to consult on the measures to be taken, since they were now to be left by themselves; their surviving teachers being compelled to leave them.

Some were for following their teachers immediately to Bethlehem, while others wished first to consult the Brethren there on the subject; which latter proposal being adopted, the missionary Martin Mack, together with his wife, and the widow of the deceased, took a final farewell of their congregation, which was very affecting on both sides, and then set out for Bethlehem.

Arriving at Sopus, (or Esopus) they were detained by a justice of the peace, on account of a report that they were traitors. The mob had already assembled and much mischief was dreaded, when, providentially, Colonel Livingston arriving, he reprimanded the justice severely for his conduct, and set them at liberty. However the mob, although prevented from committing outrages, took the liberty of insulting them as they passed in the street, loading them with curses and other vile epithets.

Two Brethren from Bethlehem, David Zeisberger and Christian Frederick Post, having at that time been sent by the directors of the society to the Iroquoise country, the country of the Five Nations, with intent that the former should improve himself in the language, were, by means of enemies to missions among Indians, who accused them of having treacherous views, arrested at Albany, and after much abuse, taken back to New York, and confined in prison; where, after being detained seven weeks—during which time they underwent frequent examinations—

they at length were declared innocent and dismissed, after which they again returned to Bethlehem.

On *this* occasion, the Brethren were willing to ascribe, as a leading cause of their being arrested, the then political conduct of the Five confederated Nations, the Indians they were going to; who, at the time, though then unknown to the Brethren, were suspected of having an intention to join the French, in a war against the English nation.

During the imprisonment of these Brethren, Mr. Thomas Noble, a respectable merchant in New York, frequently visited them, he also furnished them during the whole time of their imprisonment, with provisions and other necessaries. He also dispatched his chief clerk, Mr. Henry Van Vleck, to Bethlehem, to inform the society of the calamities which had befallen their Brethren at that place.

Among the many visits these Brethren received while in prison, one in particular, from a New England gentleman, deserves to be noticed. This gentleman, after looking at them with great earnestness for a while addressed them thus: "Though you are unknown to me, yet I am fully convinced that the accusations brought against you, are false; and I believe that you suffer for Christ's sake. I am amazed at your resignation; but indeed it cannot but be a blessed situation to be imprisoned for Christ's sake; for all who love the Lord Jesus, must expect to be hated and persecuted."

It had always been a consolation to the Brethren to meet with friends, and the more so when troubles befel them ; and they never were without such, whose worth and services they highly valued, praying to the Lord to reward them. The conduct of their adversaries, they considered as flowing partly from ignorance and partly from self interest and malice.

From the time the Brethren left Shekomeko, until all the Indians departed from that place, they frequently received visits from Bethlehem ; but now the case was reversed ; for instead of the missionary preaching to the Indians, they attended the meetings of the latter, with great satisfaction. In the last two years, during which the Brethren had laboured among the Indians at this place, sixty-two persons were baptized.

The congegations of Pachgatgoch and Wachquatnoch, in the province of Connecticut, were continued for a number of years ; and supplied with missionaries from Bethlehem.

We have next to take a view of the missionary labours of the Brethren in Pennsylvania and the western country, together with the situation of the christian Indian congregations at different places ; but while we at one time may rejoice at their success and prosperity—admiring their steadiness and perseverance, even under a succession of troubles—we will finally

find sufficient reason to lament the many disasters which befell them.

To illustrate the succeeding pages, it is necessary to remark: that the Brethren, for sundry reasons, had to take a different course to obtain *permission* to reside among the Indians, and to preach the gospel unto them, than they had done when they went to preach to the Mohicans and Wampano tribes, in New England and the province of New York. These latter were settled on lands among the white people, where no Indian nation could disturb them, nor force them against their will to abandon their settlements; the only difficulty they laboured under, was that the white people wanted the lands they lived on, for themselves—while the Six Nations, under a pretence that they had once conquered* and subdued the Delawares, asserted that the whole country had thereby become theirs, and therefore assumed the power of dictating who should, and who should not be permitted to dwell therein. Be this as it may, it is certain, (and was well known at the time) that these nations leagued together, and were backed by the English; and in consequence of the authority which they exercised over the Delawares and other nations and tribes, were generally considered as the head of the whole; wherefore count Zinzendorf, while in this country, had, with the assistance of Conrad Weisser, esq. interpreter to the government,

* See Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, Chap. I.

a man who enjoyed the esteem of the Six Nations, formed an acquaintance with a numerous embassy of their chiefs, and after signifying to them his wish to preach the gospel to the Indians, received from them the following answer:

"Brother! you have made a long journey over the seas to preach the gospel to the white people, and to the Indians! You did not know that we were here, and we knew nothing of you—This proceeds from above! Come therefore to us, both you and your Brethren, we bid you welcome among us; and take this fathom of wampum in confirmation of the truth of our words!"

This meeting at once laid the foundation of a good understanding between the Brethren and the Six Nations; and also opened the door for preaching the gospel to the Delawares, then nearest neighbours to the Brethren, and to the white settlers generally. Afterwards, when the Indians at Shekomeko had been deprived of their teachers, and at length compelled to leave that place, application was made to the great council at Onondago, for a place of refuge for these emigrants; and bishop Spangenberg accompanied by two of his Brethren, and the government interpreter, Conrad Weisser, esq. having undertaken the commission, and for the purpose repaired to that place, the covenant formerly made with count Zinzendorf was with great solemnity renewed: these three Brethren were adopted as their countrymen, each receiving a

peculiar name*—and their proposal of removing the congregation of believing Indians from the province of New York to their country, was favourably received.

The intention then was, of settling those emigrants at Wyoming, but these could not consent to dwell at so remote a place from the settlement of the Brethren. They also objected on the ground, that this place lay on the road of the warriors going to, and coming from the *Catawbas* ;† and also otherwise abounded with Indians whom they mistrusted—Besides this, a war had also broke out between the English and French nations, and they were already suspected of inclining to side with the latter; which rumour had spread such terror, particularly at Rinebeck, that the inhabitants had demanded a warrant of the justice, to go and kill all the Indians at Shekomeko. Now, although the warrant was not granted, yet these poor Indians saw the necessity of their leaving that country and their possessions to the white people, and that without any recompense whatever.

The directors of the society, seeing the imminent danger these Christian Indians were in, represented their case to his excellency George Thomas, esq. then governor of Pennsylvania; who, thereupon ordered: "that all Indians, who took refuge in Pennsylvania, should be pro-

* Bishop Spangenberg was called "Tgirhitontie :" which signifieth, *a row of trees ;* and David Zeisberger they named "Anausseracheri," signifying, *on the pumpkin.*

† A southern nation of Indians.

tected in the quiet practice of their religious profession,"—which being made known to them, the first emigration, consisting of ten families, in all forty-four persons, took place in April, 1748. These arriving at Bethlehem, were received with tenderness and compassion; and having built cottages in the vicinity of the Brethren's settlements, their morning and evening prayers were regulated, and the service performed in the Mohigan language. They also again partook of the holy sacrament, which had not been administered to them for a long time; since the Brethren had been forbidden at their former place to instruct them in matters of religion.

This small settlement they called "Friedenshutten," (Tents of Peace,) but as the emigration continued, it was doubted whether an Indian town or settlement could support itself so near Bethlehem; wherefore the Brethren purchased a tract of land beyond the Blue mountain, at the junction of Mahony* creek with the Lehigh, on which they were settled, built a regular town and a chapel, and called the place Gnadenhutten.

Thus an Indian congregation was established, and other Indians arriving from Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch, all were delighted with the place; which increased beyond expectation, and became the blessed means of engaging the attention of the Delawares (the

* "Mahony" signifieth a Deer's Lick; a place where salty, or brackish water issues out of the earth.

natives of this part of the country) towards the gospel, which was daily preached there: so that many of these were converted, and added to Christ's flock.

Next to the regulations made with respect to the preaching of the gospel and administering the sacraments—the instruction to be given to the assistants, in order to instil scriptural principles into their minds—the education of the youth of both sexes, and the instruction of them in gospel truths, (for which purpose several parts of Scripture had already been translated into the Mohigan language,) rules and orders were also made and agreed to, and persons nominated to watch over their due performance.

For the convenience of the Indian congregation at Gnadenhutten, the Brethren had laid out a farm, built mills, and placed a blacksmith, together with several other mechanics, on a spot of land on the opposite side of the river, at the distance of about half a mile from the Indian settlement; which place bore the Indian name of Mahony, (in English, "Deer lick,") and the inhabitants of this place had their daily meetings, the same as is customary in all the Brethren's congregations.

At the particular request of a respectable chief of the Six Nations, named Shikalimus, who resided at Shamokin, in the capacity of an agent, to transact the business between them and the government of Pennsylvania, and by whom the Brethren were held in high estimation, some Brethren, one of whom was a blacksmith, settled at that place in June, 1747; yet, previ-

ous to their settling there, the Brethren had informed the governor of Pennsylvania of the invitation and its object, who readily granted them permission, on condition that the blacksmith should stay no longer with them, than they preserved their faith and friendship with the English nation. The other Brethren were engaged in visiting the Indians, residing both on the North and the West branch of the Susquehanna, and in learning their languages.

In the year 1747, the Brethren, by invitation, visited the Delaware Indians at their village, called Meniolagameka,* which lay at the foot of the Blue mountain, on the north side, at the distance of about 20 miles from Bethlehem, and about 15 miles from Gnadenhutten.—These Indians had frequently visited at the latter place, where they heard the gospel preached; and now requested that the same might be preached to them also; to which the Brethren readily consented, and many of them were afterwards converted, and enjoyed the benefit of a teacher and schoolmaster, until the year 1751, when the land they occupied being sold, they joined the congregation at Gnadenhutten.

In July of this year, deputies from the Six Nations having arrived at Philadelphia, for the purpose of establishing a firm alliance with the Pennsylvania government, the Brethren thought it a favourable oppor-

*The word implies: a spot of rich land, amidst that which is bad or barren.

tunity for renewing the covenant which they had entered into with them some years before; accordingly they met them for the purpose, were kindly received, and invited to visit them in their country.

About this time the Brethren also paid a visit to the Rev. David Brainard, missionary to the Indians in New Jersey; and rejoiced at the success with which that faithful servant of God had been blessed in preaching the gospel to the Indians; and some time after this, that worthy man, accompanied by some of his converts, visited the Brethren both at Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten, much to his satisfaction.

In September, 1749, the foundation for a new church was laid at Gnadenhutten, the one erected in 1746 being too small, the Indian congregation consisting now of 500 souls; and schools for the children of both sexes were put under proper regulations.

The prospect of bringing souls to Christ by the preaching of the gospel of salvation, brightening more and more, the Brethren were indefatigable in their labours; each striving to do his utmost for Christ's sake. Journeying at that time through wildernesses and swamps—suffering often from hunger, as well as from heat and cold—and above all, when thoroughly wet, from a want of change of linen and other clothes, (as such journeys were chiefly made on foot, with scarcely any baggage,) bore hard on weakly constitutions, and caused frequent sickness, sometimes ending in death. This last had been the case with a most

worthy divine, the Rev. bishop Cammerhof, a man of extraordinary talents and great piety, who had been sent into this country by the directors of the society in Europe, for the general superintendance of the internal concerns of the society here, and who, on seeing the prospect of the conversion of the heathen, had devoted much of his time in visiting the scattered Indian villages on the branches of the Susquehanna and elsewere, preaching the gospel with great freedom wherever he came. During the four years he resided in this country, he baptized eighty-nine Indians. His death was a great loss to the society generally. Two other missionaries, one, John Hagen, and the other, David Bruce, had also departed this life within the last two years, at their posts; the former at Shamokin, on the Susquehanna, and the latter at Pachgatgoch, in New England.

Bishop Johannes de Wattewille, a much respected character among the Brethren, who had come from Europe to America in 1748, to hold a visitation at Bethlehem, and the other settlements of the Brethren in this country, was much rejoiced at finding the Indian congregation at Gnadenhutten, in such a prosperous state. He frequently visited not only this congregation, but also those Indians who lived on the Susquehanna, preaching the gospel wherever he went. In October, 1749, he returned to Europe.

Until the year 1754, this Indian congregation had enjoyed peace, and flourished beyond expectation;

previous to which time the Brethren had also continued their visits among those Indians residing on both branches of the Susquehanna, and in the country of the Six Nations, hoping that these also would, ere long, embrace Christianity; but while they cherished these hopes, the mission at Gnadenhutten received a severe check. An embassy of Indians, consisting of Shawanos and Nanticoks, had come to invite all the Christian Indians to leave their present abode and settle at Wyoming; where, in many respects, they would find a more convenient place of abode than near the settlements of the white people, and yet have the same advantage of being instructed in Christianity by the Brethren, since these would be permitted to visit them at pleasure. At first the Christian Indians did not pay much attention to their speech; nor had they any inclination to exchange their fine settlement for a wilderness; but the Six Nations, who had formed the scheme, and had only employed those tribes to transact the business for them, that *they* might not be suspected, (being at the time favourably disposed towards the French, although they wished to keep this a secret,) on learning that the Christian Indians were not inclined to obey, now spoke themselves, declaring that if they did not hear what was said to them, they would come themselves, and run a red hot poker into their ears, to *make* them hear—(meaning thereby to say, that they would compel them to obey, and move to Wyoming.) This harsh language struck

some with fear, so that they went thither; while the main body remained where they were, determining not to leave their settlement, except they should be compelled thereto by force.

The Brethren, unwilling that these poor frightened people should be left without a teacher, occasionally sent a missionary thither to exhort them; but, even to obtain this privilege, they had first to travel into the country of the Six Nations, and apply to their chiefs for permission.

It might appear strange to some, that the Brethren could travel about in the Indian country without discovering the hostile disposition of the nations, towards the English; yet such was the case at the time; they kept their designs a profound secret, and it was not until those Indians who had entered into the French service, made a sally, and murdered fourteen white people within five miles of Shamokin, where the Brethren had a small mission, that they were aware of danger. But now the scene had began, barbarous murders were committed by the hostile Indians in other quarters, and it became evident that a cruel Indian war would be the result of the influence the French had acquired among the Indians, and especially those of the Six Nations, who long since had on all occasions, and particularly in war concerns, assumed an authority over many other nations, so that they only had to dictate, and others to obey. All surrounding nations,—not only those inhabiting Penn-

sylvania, but also those dwelling within the limits of other provinces, and the adjacent country, together with the Western, and Lake Indians, were called upon by the Six Nations to join in the conflict; and such among these, as were averse to war, were threatened with destruction, in case they did not join with them.

Previous to hostilities being committed, unfavourable reports had been spread, by white people from different quarters, against the Brethren; and various were the accusations laid to their charge. By some they were hated on account of their religion, which was supposed to be tinctured with Catholicism—by others they were censured for endeavouring to civilize the savages, a race of beings, which, (in their opinion) had no claim to Christianity, and whom to destroy, both root and branch, would not only be doing God a service, but also be the means of averting his wrath which they otherwise might incur by suffering them to live, they being the same as the Cananites of old, an accursed race, who by God's command were to be destroyed.

The enmity of some was so inveterate, that they sought nothing short of the total destruction of the Brethren; and indeed, at that time, when the Indians had joined the French in their wars against the English nation, seemed to favour their design; the more so since the Brethren were known to labour among the Indians. They were first accused of being in the secret, next of being in league with the French,

of supplying the Indians with arms and ammunition to carry on their wars with the English. In New England, a letter of a treasonable nature had been published, said to be a copy of one intercepted on the way from Quebec to Bethlehem, which letter stated; "that by means of the Brethren having taken their part, they would soon conquer the English."* In Virginia, a wicked man declared at a county court, before upwards of 500 persons, "that when he was in Canada, every two weeks, regular intelligence had been sent from Bethlehem." In the Jerseys, public declaration was made by beat of drum, "that Bethlehem should be destroyed, and that a carnage should be made, such as never had been heard of in North America before."*

Such reports as these were sufficient to rouse an ignorant multitude to acts of violence, without reflecting on the consequences, especially as some had already suffered in various ways by the hostile Indians, and could not endure to see the Brethren, who in their opinion were accessary to their misfortunes, dwell unmolested—mobs were spoken of, and in some places consultations were held on the measures to be taken for destroying the Brethren's settlements. Bishop Spangenberg being at the time on a journey, while entering a public house, was insulted, and threatened with having his brains knocked out. At length a party of about one hundred men having united for the

* See Lockiel's History, chapter xii.

purpose of raising a sufficient mob to carry their designs into execution, came to Bethlehem, but the civil treatment they met with there, changed their resolution for the time.

While affairs wore the appearance, as though the inhabitants of Bethlehem, and also the Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten would ere long be murdered, and their towns be laid in ashes, (as threatened by assembling mobs), the settlement of the Brethren on Mahony creek, about half a mile distant from Gnadenhutten, and separated from that place by the river Leheigh, and a ridge of high land which runs between the two places, was, while the white Brethren were assembled at supper, (on the 24th of November, 1755,) suddenly attacked by the Indians in the French interest, and eleven persons, namely, seven men, three women, and one child of fifteen months old, murdered. Only two men, one woman and a boy, effected their escape, which was performed in a manner almost miraculous.

The scene was horrid! At the barking of the dogs, the door being opened, the Indians fired into the house, killing one man, and wounding several. Retiring to the garret, after having first well secured and barricaded the doors, the Indians set fire to the house, keeping a watch at the front doors and windows. Meanwhile, a man and his wife, and a boy, leaped out of a window in the back part of the house, or rather from the burning roof, all being in flames, and they

escaped; but as a fourth was making the attempt, he was seized alive, tomahawked, and scalped. Another man, confined by sickness in an out-house, found means to get out at a back window, and make his escape. Houses, stables, and the barn, well stocked with grain and hay, were all soon in flames, and the cattle bellowing in the stables, contributed to increase the terror.

A dreadful account of this melancholy event was brought to Bethlehem some time after midnight, at which place the light of the burning buildings, although nearly thirty miles distant, and with the ridge of the Blue mountains between, was plainly seen. And now those desperadoes, who had come to destroy Bethlehem, (a number of whom were yet in the neighbourhood) were wanted as an escort to those Brethren and friends, who were willing to repair to the fatal spot for the purpose of burying the dead, but their courage failed them, and they could not be prevailed on to expose themselves to such danger.

Melancholy as the event was to the Brethren, setting aside all losses in property, it eventually was the means of saving Bethlehem and the Indian congregation, from utter destruction. The very same people, who but a few days since had denounced the Brethren as "snakes in the grass, and in the French interest;" now saw their error. Among the hundreds of people, who from various parts of the country had purposely come to learn the particulars, and many to

survey the desolated spot—seeing the mangled bodies and bones, they shed tears ; and smiting their breasts exclaimed, "Ah ! what guilt would we have brought on our heads, had we followed our designs of destroying the Brethren, on the bare supposition that they were our enemies."

At the time the settlement on Mahony was destroyed, only a few of the Indian Brethren were at home, the greater part being dispersed in the woods, hunting ; it being the season for that occupation. These Brethren were now sent for, and the whole body of Christian Indians were removed from Gnadenhutten to Bethlehem ; while troops stationed at their forsaken village, and who built a fort, were to protect the scattered settlers, and guard the Brethren's mills, which were filled with grain, and the property of the Indians from being destroyed.

These troops however, unacquainted with Indian manœuvres, had the misfortune to lose a number of their men before they had been long stationed there ; for on the new-year's day following, the savages had recourse to stratagem, in which they so well succeeded, that a number of men were cut off from the protection of the fort, and murdered.

These soldiers had been amusing themselves with skating on the ice, the river being frozen over ; when at some distance higher up, where the river made a bend, they espied two Indians, apparently amusing themselves in the same manner. Believing these al-

ready in their power, they pursued them, when on a sudden, a party that lay in ambush, ready to fall upon them, rushed forth from their hiding place, and put them to death; the few who remained thought they were unable to defend themselves in the fort, and took flight, whereupon the savages, after seizing upon as much property as they could carry off, set fire to the fort, to the houses of the Indians, and to the Brethren's mills; which was a considerable loss to the society, and to the Christian Indians.

Much of the grain with which the mills were stored might have been taken away, had the Brethren preferred saving *their* property, to the lives of their fellow creatures—the distressed white inhabitants of that part of the country, who were anxious to be out of the reach of the enemy. Thus, at one time, three waggons which were sent to bring grain from the mills, meeting with numbers of distressed people fleeing from a cruel enemy, who had murdered some of their families, and burnt down their houses, these having escaped with their lives, and without covering, the Brethren humanely gave them the use of their waggons, and brought them safe to Bethlehem. Hundreds of distressed men, women and children, who had fled from the savages, sought shelter at the settlements of the Brethren, and as long as a place could be found for them, they were protected and fed.

Many people, at the time, wondered how the Brethren, especially after the losses they had sustained, could feed and maintain such a number of persons; for though their loss was great in grain at the Gnadenhutten mills and barn, they besides lost upwards of a thousand bushels of wheat in another place; added to this, crops of grain had the year following been but small, on account of the long drought. However, through a bounteous providence, they were often relieved when they least expected it; and what gave them particular satisfaction, was, their being enabled to give protection and sustenance to many, who but recently, through ignorance, had calumniated them, nay threatened them with destruction.

Indeed it was generally believed, and acknowledged, that had it not been for the Brethren's settlements, the whole country from the ridge of the Blue mountain to Philadelphia, would have been laid waste. The murders committed, following in such quick succession, and often where least expected, struck the inhabitants with such terror, that they knew not where to fly for safety. The determination of the Brethren to stand their ground, and relying on the help of God to guard against the worst, by securing the most open places with stockades, erecting watch houses, and posting centinels where it was thought necessary, was to them salutary news, and many also offered their services.

It has been already noticed, that the first outrages committed by the Indian warriors,* were on settlers about five miles from Shamokin, at which place three Brethren, two in the capacity of missionaries, and one of them a blacksmith, resided at the time ; of these three, the two former had immediately, on the report of this murder, fled to Bethlehem ; but the smith, determined not to desert, or leave his post without orders from the directors of the society, remained there, although his situation was exceedingly dangerous. The Shawano chief Paxinos, at Wyoming, learning his situation by a message sent him from Bishop Spangenberg, immediately dispatched his two sons to conduct him safe to Gnadenhutten, where he arrived previous to the destruction of that place, and from thence came to Bethlehem.

Pennsylvania had, within the space of a few months, been subjected to disasters hitherto unknown : its whole frontier having been laid waste by the savages, the people were compelled to fly in various directions for safety.

The Indians, having early in the year 1756, began to commit hostilities, the governor of Pennsylvania thought proper, by proclamation, to declare war against all Indian nations who should persist in so doing ; offering one hundred and fifty dollars for every hostile

* These warriors were of the Six Nations, and who began the war in Pennsylvania, (see Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, Chap. XX. page 168 ; also Lockiel's History, Chap. XII.

Delaware Indian taken alive, and one hundred and thirty dollars for every scalp; inviting, at the same time, all those who would lay down the hatchet, to meet at a treaty of peace. An exception was however made, in the proclamation, in favour of the Indians residing at Bethlehem; and further, the governor thought proper to warn these, by a letter, not to stray far from home, which advice was strictly attended to.

The nations however were not yet disposed for peace; neither would the Iroquoise suffer the Delawares to treat for themselves. The writer of this narrative was, a few years after the peace had been concluded, shown the spot, on the path leading from Menessink to Wyoming, where (as he was then told by some of the Delaware Indians,) the government messenger, Thomas Hill, was met by a party of the Six Nations, and murdered, as they would not permit the message to be taken to the Delawares on Susquehanna. Murders were continued, and the people were seen flying in various directions, seeking for places of safety.

Meanwhile the Christian Indians were of essential service to the Brethren, in guarding them while at work in the fields, and harvesting their crops of grain; and indeed the whole neighbourhood derived more or less benefit from their being there—since the inimical Indians dreaded coming too far into the settlements, lest they should be discovered by the friendly natives. They were also otherwise of service

to government, in conveying peace messages to the hostile Indians, when no other person would undertake so dangerous a task. They had, since their flight from Gnadenhutten, principally established themselves at Bethlehem ; yet, for the safety of the Brethren's settlements at Nazareth, Gnadenthal, and Christians' Spring, some were kept at those places—where, when their service in the fields, as guards, was not wanted, the men would join in manual labour, and the women would make baskets and brooms. Wherever these were stationed, their missionaries were with them ; and they attended divine service regularly and daily. That Indians could withdraw themselves from their nation ; could abandon their wild and wandering friends and relatives, and become so docile and civilized as to live content among the white people ; was a matter of astonishment to many whom this report had reached; and who, to satisfy themselves as to the fact, purposely visited Bethlehem, to be eye witnesses thereof.

At length, through the vigilance of the governor of Pennsylvania, col. afterwards sir William Johnson, and George Croghan, esq. (deputy agent for sir William,) the Indians consented to attend a treaty to be holden with them, but at no other place than at Bethlehem. This treaty place was also approved of by the officers of government, both parties placing great confidence in the influence the Brethren would have in bringing about a peace, on account of their integrity ; and it was

only by repeated remonstrances, made by Bishop Spangenberg, that they desisted from their resolution. The treaty therefore was held at Easton, on the way to which place, the captain that had headed the party, which the year preceding murdered the Brethren and sisters on Mahony, was himself murdered by the Delaware chief Tadeuskund, with whom he had provoked a quarrel, by his high toned and insulting language.

After the treaty was concluded, a great number of those Indians visited Bethlehem; and being lodged on the opposite side of the river, the justice of the peace of the place, Timothy Horsfield, esq. for safety sake examined every one strictly, as to his motives for coming here, and his intended stay, and also maintained order amongst them. Of course these Indians were well treated and fed by the Brethren, and it was hoped that the treaty would have the good effect of uniting them in a lasting peace.

But scarcely had they returned from this treaty, when new scenes of murder* were committed on the south side of the Blue mountain, even to a great distance; and, as a further proof that they were not satis-

* The writer of this Narrative has been assured by creditable Indians of the Delaware nation, that these murders had not been committed by any of their nation, but by some individuals of the Five Nations; for the purpose of destroying the object of the treaty, and preventing an union taking place between them, (the Delawares and the English nation,) which they feared would finally be accomplished.

fied, but intended to continue the war, they abandoned their habitations at Wyoming, and retired to Tioga, a considerable distance higher up the Susquehannah river.

In November of the same year, (1756) the governor of Pennsylvania honoured Bethlehem with a visit; and also visited the Christian Indians in their dwellings, much to his satisfaction.

The year 1757 commenced with similar troubles to those of the preceding year; and, though the chiefs of the hostile Indians showed a disposition towards a peace, yet the nation was not of the same mind, considering their grievances not adjusted to their wish. A council being held with them at Lancaster, in April of that year, they complained that the people at Bethlehem kept their relations and friends prisoners;* begging that these might be at liberty to remove to Wyoming, which being made known to them (the Christian Indians) they, so far from thinking of complying with their desire, joined in petitioning the governor to continue his protection toward them, which being readily granted, they, by the advice of the Brethren, began to build themselves a new town within two miles of Bethlehem, which place was called Nain.

The French finding that the Delawares, in conse-

* They wished their relatives and countrymen *out* of the settlements of the white people; as their being where they now were, was a check upon them, in carrying on the war vigorously.

quence of the frequent overtures for peace made to them by the governor of Pennsylvania, began to slacken in the war, now advised them to leave this country and withdraw to the Ohio, where they might join those of their nation who were there already, against the English with better success.

The government of Pennsylvania, both encouraged and supported by the Friends, (otherwise called Quakers,) were unwearied in their exertions to bring about a peace; but having in vain sought for a proper and trusty person to carry peace messages to the hostile Indians on the Ohio, Christian Frederick Post, of Bethlehem, a man of undaunted courage and enterprising spirit, and besides well acquainted with the manners and customs of the Indians, was proposed and engaged in this service, making two journies to the hostile savages: in the first of which he was accompanied by two Delaware Indians, who had been under the protection of government for some time.

Journies of that kind, and under existing circumstances, were by many deemed as rash and imprudent undertakings. Post, however, was not dismayed, but considered the errand he was going on, a good one.—Moved by charity, with a desire of being instrumental in putting a stop to murders, and the effusion of human blood, and considering himself under the protection of the Almighty, and of Him who in his sermon on the mount had pronounced a blessing on all

"peace makers,"* he consulted not with flesh and blood; neither had entreaties, tending to dissuade him from the undertaking, any effect. Cheerful and undaunted, after taking a farewell of his Brethren at Bethlehem, whose best wishes, both as to himself and the laudable cause he had engaged in, he had been assured of, he sat out with his two Indian guides to a country, in which neither he nor any of the Brethren had ever been before—and to a savage people, who had united with the French for the destruction of the English in this country; and after having faithfully performed the business entrusted to him by government, and in which he even succeeded beyond expectation, he returned, giving thanks and praises to the Lord, who (as he expresses himself in his journal,) "had preserved him through all the dangers and difficulties that he had been under."

To enumerate all the hardships, difficulties and dangers, Frederick Post had been subjected to on these journies, especially on the first, in the summer of the year 1758, is at this time both impossible and needless. Suffice it to say, that what *he* intended the public should know, was published in the year after, in England, under the title of "Christian Frederick Post's Journal from Philadelphia to the Ohio," &c. His *original* manuscript journal, however, which had for some time been placed in the hands of the writer

*Matthew, chapter v. ver. 9.

of this narrative, was far more interesting, and evinced that few men would be found able to undergo the fatigues of a journey, bearing so hard on the constitution, or a mind to sustain such trials of adversity—at least not with that calmness with which Mr. Post endured it.

The English government having at length so far succeeded towards establishing a peace with the hostile nations, and the French seeing themselves in a manner deserted by them, evacuated Fort Du Quesne, after destroying most of the works; when the English took possession, and having built a new fort, called it Fort Pitt.

From this time, the troubles and murderous incursions which had for years together desolated the country, and distressed numbers of the inhabitants, ceased in Pennsylvania and the neighbouring provinces, the war shifting to a different quarter, until a peace between the two European powers was concluded.

With the prospect of a peace, the Christian Indians had, in 1757, begun their new settlement, called Nain, and in 1758 they completed all the necessary buildings, both for themselves and their missionary, together with a chapel, which was consecrated October 18th, of the same year. Those Indians who had been stationed at Nazareth and other places, for the protection of the Brethren's settlement, now joined their congregation again at Nain, which place however increased so rapidly, that it was found

necessary to begin another establishment, and for that purpose, 1400 acres of land were purchased by the Brethren, beyond the Blue mountain; a new settlement was began with thirty baptized Indians of the Delaware Nation, and the place called Wechquetank.

Both these congregations being supplied with missionaries and schoolmasters, were so prosperous that they became the admiration of visitors, some of whom thought it next to a miracle, that, by the light of the gospel, a savage race should be brought to live together in peace and harmony, and above all devote themselves to religion. The people residing in the neighbourhood of these places, were also intimate with these Indians, and both were serviceable to each other; one instance of which is here inserted. In February of the year 1761, a white man who had lost a child, came to Nain weeping, and begging that the Indian brethren would assist him and his wife to search for his child, which had been missing since the day before; several of the Indian brethren immediately went to the house of the parents, and discovered the footsteps of the child, and tracing the same for the distance of two miles, found the child in the woods, wrapped up in its petticoat, and shivering with cold. The joy of the parents was so great, that they reported the circumstance wherever they went. To some of the white people, who had been in dread of the near settlement of these Indians, this incident was the means of making

them easy, and causing them to rejoice, in having such good neighbours.

In August of the year 1761, another treaty was held by the government of Pennsylvania, at Easton, with deputies from many Indian tribes; after which Tadeuskund, the head chief of the Delawares, with a retinue of more than one hundred Indians, came to Bethlehem* on a visit; and now the war being over, the Indians who had been engaged in it, freely confessed to their friends and relations, and to some white people they had heretofore been acquainted with, "that the Brethren's settlements had been as a stumbling block to them—that had it not been for these, they would most assuredly have laid waste the whole country, from the mountains to Philadelphia—that many plans had been laid for destroying these settlements—that they had approached several times for the purpose, but the watchfulness of the Brethren, and the recollection of their friends and relations (the Christian Indians,) had always frustrated their designs; had they succeeded in persuading the Christian Indians to withdraw from the Brethren's settlements, no doubt but they would have carried their plans into execution; but, whilst these resided among the white people, they dare not venture to make the attempt, partly from a fear that their own friends and relations might finally be brought to join the white people

* By an account kept, 652 Indians had visited Bethlehem in this year.

against them, or that the latter enraged, might massacre their relations, not being able to come at them."

A few months had scarcely elapsed after the conclusion of peace, when a fresh murder was committed by a white man on an Indian of good character, in the Jerseys; in consequence of which, many white settlers fled from their dwellings, fearing that this murder might instigate the Indians to renew hostilities; however, through the vigilance of government, they were again pacified, and peace was preserved.

In the spring of the year 1762, the missionary Zeisberger, visited, by particular request, those Indians at Wyoming, who, previous to the commencement of the war, had through fear, and the threats of the Six Nations, suffered themselves to be drawn off from Gnadenhutten.—These now wished to return again; but in the fall of the year the flux broke out among them, and sending again for Zeisberger, he had the satisfaction to attend a number of them in their dying moments, and saw them depart with cheerfulness, in reliance upon the death and merits of a crucified Saviour.

Frederick Post, who, the preceding year had visited the western Indians, living on the Muskingum, being in great hopes that he would be able to introduce Christianity among them, the writer of this narrative, by and with the consent of the Directors of the Society, went with him as an assistant, principally however to

teach their children to read and write. They set out together early in March, travelling through a settled country of about one hundred and forty miles, without seeing much of waste that had been made by the Indians in the late war; but scarcely had they passed Shippensburg, when the scene changed—the ravages committed by the Indians in that war, were now visible almost in every direction as they passed on. Farms laying waste, with stacks of chimneys standing in the midst of a heap of ashes, where the houses had been burnt down, presented a very gloomy appearance, and caused serious reflections on the fate of many of those unfortunate inhabitants, whose lot it had been to fall under the war hatchet and scalping knife. Being, after a tedious and fatiguing journey arrived at Fort Pitt, they were kindly received, and lodged with Messrs. Davenport and M'Kinney, the only two gentlemen who at that time had a trading house, at the fort in the point.

The commandant of the fort, colonel Bouquet, together with captain Hutchins, as also the British officers generally, admiring and approving of the undertaking, were no less active in rendering us such assistance as lay in their power; and when arriving at the mouth of Big Beaver, where the Indian war chief Koquethagaechlon,* (by the white people called

* The same man whose name in Post's Journal is written "Cochquacaukchlton."

white eyes,) resided, *he* also furnished us with meat, and presented us with a few fowls. Post had already, the preceding year, built a house on the bank of the river Muskingum, at the distance of about a mile from the Indian village which lay to the south, across this river; and at which village, at that time, the greatest chiefs of the nation, both civil and military resided, with Tamaque (or King Beaver, as he was called by the white people,) at their head—all whom now came to see and welcome us.

Post, who had calculated on raising on the ground as much provision as should be wanted for our use, set the hired man he had engaged for the purpose at Pittsburg, to cutting down trees, where he intended to make his corn-field, while he himself marked out three acres of ground for this purpose. The Indians, alarmed at this, sent word to him to appear before them at the council house on the next day, and in the mean while desist from doing any further work on the premises. Appearing accordingly before them on the day following, the speaker, in the name of the Council, delivered the following address:

"Brother! last year you asked our leave to come and live with us, for the purpose of instructing us and our children, to which we consented; and now being come on, we are glad to see you!

"Brother! It appears to us that you must since have changed your mind, for instead of instructing us or our children, you are cutting trees down on our

land! you have marked out a large spot of ground for a plantation, as the white people do every where; and bye and bye another, and another, may come and do the same; and the next thing will be, that a fort will be built for the protection of these intruders, and thus our country will be claimed by the white people, and we driven further back, as has been the case ever since the white people first came into this country, Say! do we not speak the truth?"—In answer to which address, Post delivered himself thus:

"Brothers! What you say I told you is true, with regard to my coming to live with you—namely, for the purpose of instructing you; but it is likewise true, that an instructor must have something to live upon, otherwise he cannot do his duty. Now, not wishing to be a burden to you, so as to ask of you provision for me to live upon, knowing that you have already families to provide for, I thought of raising my own bread, and believed that three acres of ground was little enough for that. You will recollect that I said to you last year, that I was a messenger from God, and prompted by him to preach and make known his will to the Indians, (heathen) that they also, by faith, might be saved, and become inheritors of his heavenly kingdom. Of your land I do not want one foot; neither will my raising a sufficiency of corn and vegetables off of your land for me and my brother to subsist on, give me or any other person a claim to the land."

Post having retired for the purpose of giving the chiefs and council time to form an answer:—this done, they again met, when the speaker thus addressed him, (Post):

"Brother! Now as you have spoken more distinctly, we may perhaps be able to give you some advice. You say, 'that you are come at the instigation of the great spirit, to teach and to preach to us!' so also say the priests at Detroit, whom our Father, the French, has sent among his Indian Children! Well, this being the case, you, as a preacher, want no more land than one of those do, who are content with a garden lot, for to plant vegetables and pretty flowers in, such as the French priests also have, and of which the white people are all fond.

"Brother! As you are in the same station and employ with those preachers we allude to—and as we never saw any one of those cut down trees and till the ground, to get a livelihood, we are inclined to think, and especially as these, without labouring hard, yet look well, that they have to look to another source than that of hard labour for their maintenance. And we think that if, as you say, the great spirit wants you to preach to the Indians, he will cause the same to be done for you, as he causes to be done for those priests we have seen at Detroit. We are agreed to give you a garden spot, even a larger spot of ground than those have at Detroit. It shall measure fifty steps (paces,) each way; which, if it suits you, you are at liberty to

plant thereon what you please !"—which Post agreeing to, the lot was on the following day stepped off by captain Pipe, stakes drove in at the corners, and Post told that now he might go on with his work again.

An Indian treaty being appointed to be held at Lancaster in the latter part of the summer, Mr. Post was again applied to by the governor of Pennsylvania, to use his endeavours in bringing to this treaty many of the western Delawares, but above all King Beaver, and the great war chief *Shingask** ; (generally called by the white people, King Shingas.†) the former of which, together with other heads of the nation, accordingly went on with Mr. Post, but the latter positively declared that he would not go, believing that the English only wanted to murder him for the damage he had done them during the late war.

Scarcely had six weeks elapsed from the time of the departure of those who had gone on to the treaty, when it became known that the French had succeeded in persuading the Indian nations, once more to try their strength against the English. And it was fur-

* "Shingask" was his proper name, which interpreted is a *bog meadow*. This man was the greatest *Delaware* warrior of that time ; were his war exploits on record, they would form an interesting document, though a shocking one. Conecogeague felt his strong arm sufficiently to be convinced of that. His person was small, but in point of courage and activity, he was said never to have been exceeded by any one.

† This war chief well knew the high price that had been set on his scalp by the governor of Pennsylvania.

ther added: "that a treaty at this time would be of no effect; and that even Post would not be permitted to return to this place again."

The situation in which the writer of this was placed at that time, became very precarious. I, however, found means of sending a letter to Mr. Post at Lancaster, and receiving an answer—and king Beaver, shortly after arriving from the treaty, who on learning what had been done in his absence, and that a war seemed to be unavoidable, he advised as Post did in his letter: that I should leave the country while it was yet time, lest I should fall a sacrifice; which however, on account of bad health at the time, was impossible for me to do, added to which, my horse had been stolen or lost.

Previous to the return of the Indians from the treaty at Lancaster, the wife of captain Shingask had died, and being considered a woman of note, the funeral procession* was performed accordingly. Although her complaint appeared to be no other than a fever, yet Indian doctors made it out to be, that she had been bewitched; when of course the conjurer took the place of the physician for to cure her, and under whose hands she died.

After being again advised by king Beaver (whom I considered my true friend,) to retire while it was yet safe, I sat out with some traders in October, for

* See, for funeral procession, Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, chapter xxxvii.

Pittsburg, and meeting on the way with the Indian agent, captain Alexander M'Kee, and Mr. Post, apprised them of the times, and the war which was expected. The former was going out to receive and provide for the prisoners, promised to be given up at the treaty; and the latter considered himself safe under the protection of the former, but both were disappointed in their views, M'Kee returning without prisoners, and Post only saving himself by flight through the woods. Before the winter had passed over, murders were committed on a number of traders, in that part of the country.

In the month of April, 1763, a melancholy event took place at Wyoming, on Susquehannah, where the principal chief of the Delawares, east of the mountains, named Tadeuskund, was burnt to death in his own house. Various were the conjectures as to the cause of his house taking fire; but the general belief was, that it had been a premeditated act, done with the knowledge or consent of some of the men of the village. It appeared probable, that to carry the resolution into effect, liquor had been brought into the village, it being known that this chief was fond of it, who after having drank to excess, had retired to his house to sleep; but no sooner was this known, than the house was discovered in flames; and, to prevent a disclosure of the persons who had committed the act, every house in the village was fired and burnt down to the ground, to make it appear as if a general

conflagration had by accident taken place. Tadeuskund* had been a useful man in his place, and to the nation he belonged; but in the opinion of the Six Nations, he assumed more authority than belonged to him as a Delaware chief, and fearing that he might not fall into their measures of joining in a new war against the English, they perhaps concerted the plan of destroying him.

As yet the troubles which early in the year had begun in the western country, had not reached the eastern. The Susquehanna Indians travelled as usual through the settlements of the white people without fear.—The peace which had been enjoyed for several years together, had in a manner done away animosities formerly existing against the Indians; and the Christian Indians, both at Nain and Wequetank, were in a prosperous state at the time, having built for themselves and their missionaries convenient dwelling houses, enlarged the chapel at the former place, and enjoyed the fruits of their agricultural labours. But in the fall of this year (1763,) the scene suddenly changed. The intelligence received of hostilities committed on the Lakes of Canada and Ohio river, caused many to entertain fears, that a repetition of the dreadful scenes of 1755, and the years following, would take place.

* See sketch of Tadeuskund's life, in Heckewelder's account of Indian Nations, chapter xl.

Such accounts were eagerly caught at by fanatics, to serve the doctrine they heretofore had held, viz: that the Indians were the Canaanites, who by God's commandment were to be destroyed; and that this not having been done by them at that time, the present war might be considered as a just punishment from God for their disobedience.*

The threats of these fanatics having reached the ears of the Christian Indians at Nain and Wequetank, they joined in an humble address to the governor of Pennsylvania, testifying their abhorrence of the cruelties committed by their countrymen, and begging his excellency's protection; to which the governor replied in a most satisfactory manner.

Soldiers being raised for the defence of the country, it became necessary that the Christian Indians generally should wear a mark to distinguish them from the enemy, lest some of them, while out on business, might be taken for enemies, and be molested.

Yet the object of government in raising these troops, was not that real danger already existed, but for the purpose of making the minds of the people easy, who seemed much alarmed at the reports of murders committed by Indians, although they happened at the distance of some hundred miles, and to be prepared, in case of an emergency, to protect and guard all Indians passing and repassing on their law-

*See Lockiel's History.

ful business, either for the purpose of exchanging their peltries for other necessaries, or otherwise coming on business with the governor of Pennsylvania; for with all the noise of real danger, the Brethren saw as *yet* none, the Indians coming to them to trade, conducting themselves in a peaceful and becoming manner, not giving the least cause of alarm; nay, even the missionary Zeisberger, remained undisturbed, and without the least knowledge of Indian hostilities, at his post at Wyalusing on Susquehanna, preaching the gospel with great freedom and success to numbers, some of whom came from a great distance to hear him. The Brethren, however, thought proper to apprise him of the current reports, and the danger he migh tsubject himself to by remaining there, at the same time inviting him to return to Bethlehem.

As it sometimes happens, that from a want of authority, energy, or inclination of the officer entrusted with troops, acts are committed, not only dishonourable to such officer, but also highly injurious to the inhabitants of a district, nay, often to the community at large, so also here in the *outset*, an unjust and highly criminal act—an act of murder—was committed on harmless, inoffensive Indians, by the new levies; and that under the very eye of their commander. The Indians who in *this* instance had fallen a sacrifice, were Zachary, with his wife and a young child, and another woman related to him; who all had come to a store for the purpose of exchanging their pletry

for wearing apparel—not knowing at the time that the soldiers who were in the house were drinking, (the storekeeper also trading in liquors.) These soldiers however, together with their officers, being in a high state of intoxication, fell upon these defenceless Indians, and murdered* the whole of them.

The soldiers now fearing that Zachary's four brothers, who were living at Wequetank, might revenge his death, went to that place, forbidding any of those Indians to hunt, and threatening to kill every Indian they should meet with in the woods; however, by the repeated remonstrances of the missionary of this place, captain Wetterhold was at length prevailed on to desist from the measure.

Although the party had nothing to dread from the Christian Indians, yet the act he had committed (or suffered to be committed,) on these harmless, peaceable Indians, was of such a nature, that the *nation*, as might be naturally expected, would sooner or later take revenge. Well would it have been if the matter could have been adjusted, as thereby many lives would have been saved; but as one licentious act left unpunished, generally leads to another, so here a number of people embodied themselves, and, as an armed mob, threatened that they would kill every Indian both at Wequetank and Nain, and that without even consulting the government thereon.

* See Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, chap. xliv. p. 332.

Situated as the Christian Indians were, they relied more on God for their preservation, than on man; yet every precaution was taken for their safety, and when they had to go out on their lawful pursuits, they were supplied with passports—yet with all this, it was considered next to a miracle, when they returned to their homes again.

After having passed nearly two months in this situation, and frequently disturbed by false alarms, the Brethren were, in the forenoon of the 8th of October, apprised that at the break of day on that morning, the house of a Mr. John Stinton,* about 8 miles distant from Bethlehem, had been attacked by the savages, and himself, together with captain Wetterhold, his lieutenant, and several of the soldiers with them, either killed or mortally wounded, these being lodged in that house for the night.

Dreadful did this intelligence sound in the ears of every one that heard it; but to the Brethren it was the more so, as no other Indians then lived in the parts, but the Christian Indians, at the two above mentioned places. During the day the people were continually on the alert, seeking for further information on the subject, and making report of what they had heard; at the same time proclaiming the number of hostile Indians to be very great—some saying hundreds, while others would have their numbers considered by thou-

* See Heckewelder's History of Indians, chapter xliv.

sands. At length it was maliciously reported, and spread throughout the neighbourhood, that the Christian Indians had been accomplices in the act, and that one man in particular had been recognised by the woman of the house, and to whom she also had made oath.

The wounded, among whom were the captain and his lieutenant, (both of whom however died* of their wounds) were as speedy as possible removed to Bethlehem, where every attention was paid them by the surgeon and physician of the place.

Frequent enquiries were made of the Brethren in their settlements in these parts, as to the measure they meant to take for their own safety, and on their advice the whole neighbourhood were disposed to regulate themselves; these finding that the Brethren would not quit the ground, they were also encouraged to stay.

However, insults and threats were renewed against the Indians under the care of the Brethren, in consequence of the oath which the woman before mentioned had made. The mob presenting themselves before their village at Wequetank, and threatening to murder them if they did not soon leave the place. The missionary finding that intreaties made no effect on them, it became necessary that without loss of

* It will be recollected that it was captain Wetterhold's party that murdered the harmless Indians; the same party happening to be at this house while the attack was made, and fell victims.

time, this congregation should break up and retire to Nazareth for safety. The white settlers in the neighbourhood, not being of the mob party, regretted their departure, believing that while the Christian Indians continued to be their neighbours, they had nothing to dread from the enemy, but when removed they would be exposed to their attacks—(a very just observation,) but the waggons had arrived, and on the eleventh day of October, the whole congregation sat out, leaving their harvest and many of their cattle behind.

The governor being informed of this sudden flight, requested that their missionary, the Rev. Bernhard Grube, would come to Philadelphia, that he might learn from him the particulars; and being convinced of the untruth of the evil reports spread against the Christian Indians, he delivered himself in a very respectful manner on the subject of the Brethren's missions among the Indians.

Whilst the party that threatened and persecuted the Christian Indians in this quarter, were fabricating additional falsehoods against them, with the view of facilitating their destruction, the savages were pouring in from the Northward, and laying waste the settlement of the New England people* at Wyoming. These incursions were alleged by the above party, as a further reason why every Indian living ought to be

*These people were at that time considered by the Indians as intruders on their land.

cut off from the face of the earth. The inhabitants of Nain, little more than a mile distant from Bethlehem, who for some time past dare not venture to that place on their lawful business, were not only obliged to keep a watch both by day and night in their town, but had even to place guards at their chapel doors during service, from apprehension of being surprised and murdered, while assembled for divine worship.

In this trying situation they had patiently to endure four weeks, though suffering much by the cold at nights. Every morning their joys were renewed at seeing each other again, after the fears of the night. Their hopes were, that government would commiserate their situation, and grant them protection. But alas! on the 19th day of October, one of their number, (Renatus.) an harmless Indian, and son of aged and venerable parents, was unexpectedly seized, as the one sworn to have been of the murdering party, and forthwith taken to Philadelphia and imprisoned.

The government of Pennsylvania, however sensible of the innocence of these Indians, and the falsity of the reports, purposly propagated to enrage the people against them, ordered all the baptized Indians from both places to be brought to Philadelphia for protection. The Indian congregation being informed of the orders, they could not refrain from weeping, considering that they were now to part from their dearest friends and Brethren at Bethlehem; yet, resigned to

the will of the Lord, and in the hope that they would be permitted the benefit of their teachers, their minds became easy. The sheriff of the county, John Jennings, esq. a gentleman of affability, and high in the esteem of those Indians, arrived by appointment to take charge of, and safely conduct them to Philadelphia; they delivered to him their arms with great composure, and on the 8th of November, after attending a farewell sermon, preached in the church at Bethlehem by the bishop, Peter Bochler, from Psalm 5th, verse 8th. "make thy way straight before my face," taking a final leave of the inhabitants of the place, they set out in waggons, accompanied by several of their missionaries and other Brethren, exclusive of those officers of government who had been appointed to protect them on the way to that place; where, after having suffered much on the journey, both by the inclemency of the weather, and from the insults and threats thrown out against them by the inhabitants of some places, who declared that hanging and burning ought to be their doom, they arrived on the 11th of the same month at Philadelphia.

Although, by order from the governor, they were to be lodged in the barracks, yet the soldiers quartered therein refused them admittance. Thus, from ten o'clock in the forenoon, to three in the afternoon, they were detained in the street.

Meanwhile a great mob had assembled around them, deriding, reviling, and charging them with all the out-

rages committed by the enemy, at the same time threatening to kill them on the spot; to all which they were silent, not uttering one word, but relying wholely on the providence of God, to whom alone they afterwards ascribed their preservation.

The magistrates finding that the soldiers persisted in refusing to admit them into the barracks, ordered them to proceed; and while passing through the city, not knowing where they were going, nor what would become of them, accompanied by a thousand spectators who were following in a tumultuous manner, until at length they arrived at Province Island, about six miles below the city, where they settled themselves as well as circumstances would permit, in which the missionaries assisted them, and held with them their daily meetings.

Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially those of the Friends, (by some called Quakers.) humanely endeavoured to render their situation more agreeable. Indeed this worthy class of citizens, did on all occasions exert themselves in their behalf, both in protecting them against an infuriated mob, as also in relieving their wants. Oftentimes since, these Indians have been heard to say; that during their troubles, which lasted between one and two years, even "the sight of a Quaker made them feel happy."

The village of Christian Indians at Wequetank, was fired and burnt to the ground before its inhabitants had reached Philadelphia; while, at the

same time, some incendiary in the night set fire to the oil mill in Bethlehem, which was likewise destroyed and, but for the vigilance of the inhabitants of the place, the costly waterworks, which already were in flames, would, together with other buildings, have shared the same fate.

Towards the end of this month (November,) John Papunhank, an Indian, deservedly high in the esteem of government, on account of his peaceable and friendly disposition to the English, arrived with twenty-one Indians, all of the Delaware Nation and averse to the war, at Bethlehem, from Wyalusing on Susquehanna. They were conducted to Philadelphia, and there lodged with the Christian Indians.

Whilst the Brethren viewed with gratitude the benevolence of a humane governor, exerting himself to protect a persecuted congregation of Indians, together with such of the nation who had fled from their savage neighbours, to avoid being compelled to take up the hatchet against their brethren, the English ; a party of fifty-seven white people, bearing the name of Christians, sat out from Paxton, to attack and destroy a small settlement of peaceable and inoffensive Indians in Canestoga, near Lancaster, where they had resided for more than a century, and whose ancestors had been among those who had welcomed William Penn on his first arrival in this country ; presenting him at the time with venison, &c.—These not happening to be all at home at the time, some being scattered among

their white neighbours, they murdered those they met with, to the number of fourteen persons, men, women and children; the rest learning what had befallen their friends and relations, fled, by the advice of their friendly neighbours, to Lancaster for protection, and were there placed in the gaol for safety—where however this mob party, now under the name of Paxton boys, arrived; and having broken open the door, entered, and most cruelly murdered every one of them; although they begged on their knees that their lives might be spared, they being real friends of the English. The mob were so intoxicated with their success, that after they had finished their inhuman butchery on those truly innocent Indians, they threw their mangled bodies into the street* and with a dreadful shout, as if they had gained a great victory, threatened that the Indians on Province Island, (the Christian Indians, together with Papunhak's peaceable party,) should soon share the same fate.

Note. That there appeared to be something unaccountable in this affair, will be seen from the following extract of a letter, addressed to the writer of this narrative, by a respectable and intelligent gentleman* of Philadelphia "There are," (says he) "few, if any murders to be compared with the cruel murder committed on the Canestoga Indians in the gaol of Lan-

* So the public papers stated, but ought to be Prison Yard.

* William Henry, Esq. then an inhabitant of Lancaster.

caster in 1763, by the Paxton boys, (as they were then called). From 15 to 20 Indians, as report stated, were placed there for protection. A regiment of Highlanders were at the time quartered at the barracks in the town, and yet these murderers were permitted to break open the doors of the city gaol, and commit the horrid deed. The first notice I had of this affair, was that while at my father's store, near the court house, I saw a number of people running down street towards the gaol, which enticed me and other lads to follow them. At about sixty or eighty yards from the gaol, we met from 25 to 30 men, well mounted on horses, and with rifles, tomahawks, and scalping knives, equipped for murder. I ran into the prison yard, and there, O what a horrid sight presented itself to my view ! !— Near the back door of the prison, lay an old Indian and his squaw, (wife) particularly well known and esteemed by the people of the town, on account of his placid and friendly conduct. His name was Will Sock ; across him and his squaw lay two children, of about the age of three years, whose heads were split with the tomahawk, and their scalps all taken off. Towards the middle of the gaol yard, along the west side of the wall, lay a stout Indian, whom I particularly noticed to have been shot in the breast, his legs were chopped with the tomahawk, his hands cut off, and finally a rifle ball discharged in his mouth ; so that his head was blown to atoms, and the brains were splashed against, and yet hanging to the wall, for three

or four feet around. This man's hands and feet had also been chopped off with a tomahawk. In this manner lay the whole of them, men, women and children, spread about the prison yard: shot—scalped—hacked—and cut to pieces."

The governor issued a proclamation against these outrages—forbidding, under the severest penalties, any one to molest the Indians on Province Island; and offering a reward of two hundred pounds, to any one who should bring the two ringleaders of the above party to justice; but it soon became evident that their numbers was daily increasing, and that even in Philadelphia many were in secret connection with the ringleaders, who paid so little regard to government orders at that time, that they not only publicly walked the streets, but even presented themselves in front of the governor's house, deridingly bidding him defiance.

Every day fresh reports were raised or brought into the city, of the intentions of the rioters; and it was evident that they became daily more daring. When therefore on the 29th day of December, intelligence was brought to Philadelphia, that a large party of the Paxton boys were on their march, to fall on and murder the Christian Indians, the governor seeing no other way of protecting them, sent them some large boats, in which they were to embark and take flight. They having embarked and proceeded to Leach Island, they were there overtaken by a messenger sent to them by the governor, to inform them, that it having

proved to be a false alarm, they might return; yet withal advising them to have their boats always in readiness, and that he further would furnish them with a guard.

But the government at the commencement of the year 1764 received more certain intelligence concerning the murderous intentions of the rioters, and resolved to conduct the persecuted congregation to a place of more safety, by sending them under an escort by way of New York to the English army, particularly recommending them to sir William Johnson, Indian agent for the crown of Great Britain.

These Indians were accordingly advised to hold themselves in readiness, to set out at a moment's warning; and on the 4th of January at midnight they left Province Island, and were met below the city by two gentlemen, (Lewis and Jacob Weiss) and by them conducted almost unobserved through the city, to the Brethren's chapel; where a number of Brethren and friends had met to receive them, having also provided a breakfast for them in the chapel. Here they were visited by the commissary, Mr. Fox, who was so struck at the sight of these poor emigrants, that he immediately ordered a number of blankets to be distributed among them, and waggons being provided to carry the aged, the blind, the sick, and the children, together with their baggage, they set out, accompanied by their missionaries. By this time, however, a crowd of people had assembled, so that they could scarcely

proceed, and by whom they were cursed and reviled in a dreadful manner, yet without receiving personal injury; however captain Robertson, with the escort of 70 Highlanders falling in, the mob dispersed. Commissary Fox, and Mr. Logan, went with them as far as Trenton, where the latter addressed them in the name of the governor, respecting the murders committed on the innocent Conestoga Indians, signifying the governor's abhorrence of these acts; at the same time delivering two belts of Wampum, which by them were to be forwarded to the Iroquois, (the Six Nations). With the one belt they were exhorted to lay down the hatchet and conclude a peace—they having began the war without a cause—and with the other, the graves of their murdered relations, the Conestoga Indians, were to be covered, and the tears wiped from their eyes.

The speech being delivered, and the before mentioned gentlemen about to return, the Christian Indians desired that their humble thanks might be presented to the governor, for the many favours they had received during their troubles. The commissary, Mr. Epty, now took charge of them, and provided every thing needful for their convenience on the road.

In passing through New Jersey, they were frequently insulted by mob parties; however they reached Amboy in safety, where two sloops lay in readiness to carry them to New York, but at the moment they were to embark, an express arrived from the governor of that place, strictly forbidding any Indian

from his setting foot on the New York territory, captain Robertson being at the same time ordered by general Gage to prevent them from proceding,—nay, even the ferrymen were, by a severe penalty, prohibited to cross the river with them.

As Mr. Epty, who immediately despatched an express with an account of these proceedings to the governor of Pennsylvania, had to wait for further orders, the Indians were lodged in the barracks at Amboy, where they held their meetings in the usual order; and at which, frequently, a greater or less number of the white people attended, much admiring their devotion; and were so delighted with their singing, that they conceived a more favourable opinion of them—nay, one of the soldiers exclaimed, "would to God all the white people were as good Christians as these Indians."

Having received orders from the governor to return to Philadelphia, they set out with cheerfulness; their guard of Highlanders being here relieved by 170 men from gen. Gage's army, commanded by captain Schlosser,* one party led the van, and the other brought up the rear.

On their arrival at Philadelphia, January 24th, they were lodged in the barracks, where they were guarded both day and night. Nevertheless they met daily for divine service. It was, however, not long before the

* An officer deservedly esteemed by all good men, for his humanity and manly conduct, in protecting these persecuted Indians.

mob disturbed them so much, that it was found necessary to double the guard; especially as the ring-leaders of the before mentioned murderers, were attempting by force to put their wicked designs into execution, pretending that having been highly offended by the proclamation lately issued by the governor, they now would not rest until all these Indians were delivered up to them.

Matters seemed drawing to a crisis. Certain information was received that large mobs were marching towards Philadelphia, where numbers were ready to join them on their arrival. The magistrates were called on to do their duty; and there appeared no other alternative, but that of repelling force by force. Eight pieces of heavy ordnance were drawn up to the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the middle of the square. The citizens, and even many young Quakers took up arms, and repaired to the barracks to assist the soldiers in defending the poor Indians, who, in haste, had already been removed from the lower, into the upper part of the building; where, at midnight, the governor himself visited them, bidding them to be of good cheer, and soothing their fears by his condescending behaviour. Several persons of distinction likewise came, and showed their friendly disposition towards these Indians; even some remained in the barracks, supposing they would be no where more safe.

Intelligence having been received on the 4th of

February, of the approach of the rioters, every preparation was made to recieve them. The whole town was in an uproar, as the report of their guns was already heard. The soldiers became alarmed ;—the eighteen pounders were discharged, which terrified the poor Indians, they never before having heard the report of such guns. The rioters however did not venture to approach, and the citizens again returned to their homes. But in the night, between the 5th and 6th, a report prevailing that the rioters were again advancing, the whole town was in motion. The church bells were rung—the streets illuminated—and the inhabitants being awakened from their sleep, were ordered to attend at the town-house, where arms and ammunition were distributed among them. Two companies of armed citizens repaired to the barracks, and, in addition, four more cannon were mounted. Thus the following day was spent in terror, and hourly expectation of the rioters. The Indians, who were sensible that these thirsted after their blood, considered themselves as dovoted to slaughter ; and, though they were very thankful for the spirited exertions of the government, made in their behalf, and for their defence, yet their strongest hope was placed in the Lord—they saying : " God can help us !"

At length certain information was recieved, that the rioters, in consequence of the preparations made to receive them, had resolved to proceed no further. Some gentlemen were deputed by government, to ask

them what they had to complain of; when, after much insolent behaviour, they asserted that there were several murderers among these Indians, and demanded that these should be given up. To convince them of their error, one of their ringleaders was invited to come into the barracks, and point such out; but not finding any one whom he could charge with any crime, the party gave out that the Quakers had privately taken six of the Christian Indians out of the barracks, and hid them. This being investigated, and also proving false, the rioters (as they themselves declared,) relinquished their design, and marched off.

Although at first it was believed, that the only object of the rioters was the destruction of all the Indians, under the idea that they were descendants of the Canaanites, who, by God's commandment, were to be cut off from the face of the earth; it soon became evident that they aimed at nothing short of overturning the whole form of government. Their design appearing now to be; first to cause a general consternation, thereby spreading devastation and misery over the country, and then to take the reins of government into their own hands.

The Christian Indians however saw themselves delivered from their enemies, and therefore offered up praises and thanksgiving to God, that he had so graciously defeated their designs; and now people of all ranks came to see the Indians, who were literally become a spectacle to thousands. The public wor-

ship of the congregation, especially on Sundays, was attended by crowds of attentive hearers, among whom were also some of the soldiers, who were glad to hear the gospel preached again, having been deprived of this benefit for several years together.

Four single Indian women, who had lived in the single sisters' house at Bethlehem for several years, but now not considered safe in that place, were conducted to the barracks; and their serene and modest appearance caused them to be respected by all who saw them, even by the soldiery. In general, the latter deserves this good testimony, that they always treated the Christian Indians with kindness; and the friendly and wise conduct of their officers, who kept strict order among the men, cannot be sufficiently praised.

Although government provided in the best manner they could for these persecuted Indians, yet their situation was a hard trial, and very afflicting to some of them—nay, considered little short of imprisonment. The high seasoned victuals did not agree with their stomachs. They could have no bodily exercise; the men were deprived of the occupation they had been brought up to—namely, that of hunting. Their living so close together, seemed to them insupportable. These, and other privations which they had to endure, caused some of them to become low spirited, and they wished to be set at liberty.

To pave the way for a peace, they, with the consent of government, sent John Papunhank, with one of

their brethren, as messengers of peace to the hostile Indians, to inform them that they were all alive and to desire them to lay down the hatchet.

Encouraged by the reply to their messenger, they addressed government to escort them safely to the frontiers, from whence they would find their way to Sir William Johnson; but as the war still continued, government would not grant the request. This refusal increased their uneasiness; nor was this all, for as the summer advanced, fevers and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned much dread and horror, so that many meditated their escape; but, by the advice and perseverance of the missionaries, who were unwearied in visiting and comforting them, their uneasiness was changed into a perfect resignation to the will of the Lord. To the sick, relief was afforded by that benevolent and humane Friend, Jacob Weiss, whom the Lord alone can reward for his great attention and labours of love.

Fifty-six of the sick were released from all misery, pain, and distress, by a most happy translation into everlasting life. Most edifying was it to all who had visited them, to see with what resignation they bore their sufferings, and their cheerfulness, in the hope of soon seeing their Saviour, face to face. Their bodies were interred in a burying ground, called Pottersfield. Poor Renatus, who was in prison, on hearing of the death of his beloved father, his wife, and his child, wept most bitterly.

The time however had arrived when this afflicted man was to be delivered from his bonds. During eight months imprisonment, he spent most of his time in reading a hymn book. He had been frequently visited by the missionary, who had a particular regard for him. He was now taken from his cell, and sent to Easton under a guard, there to stand a trial for the murder of Mr. Stinton, in the Irish settlement, whose wife swore that it was him who perpetrated the act. The missionaries of the place where he lived at that time, together with other Brethren, were summoned to attend at the trial. There were not wanting enemies to the Brethren, who wished to have the poor innocent Indian hung; every effort was made to have him condemned. The rabble became impatient to learn the verdict, that they might afterwards witness the execution of a "Moravian" Indian; however the jury brought in their verdict of *not guilty;* upon which the prisoner was immediately relieved from confinement—yet on account of the mob, who were enraged at his liberation, he had to be kept hidden until night, when Mr. John Jones, a respectable neighbour to Bethlehem, took him to his house, and from thence had him safely conducted to Philadelphia. It appeared that the object of the adversaries had been, to cast a general odium on Indians, said to have become *Christians;* and to render the Brethren's missions among these people, suspected.

On the 4th day of July, 1764, the Christian Indians

in the barracks had the joy to see and embrace their beloved Renatus; for whose deliverance they could not sufficiently express their thankfulness to God, while he, speaking out of the abundance of his heart, gave glory to the Lord, his Redeemer.

In the autumn the Indians in the barracks made another effort to procure their enlargements, and government granted passports to some to go to the Susquehanna, but the proper time had not yet arrived for all to go, as it was yet doubtful whether a peace would take place; negociations for the purpose were however continued, and the Iroquois (the Six Nations,) being at length reconciled, they caused the other nations also to lay down the hatchet.

On the 4th of December, 1764, the same day on which an account of a peace having been concluded with the hostile nations was brought to Philadelphia, a proclamation was published by government, that forthwith all hostilities should cease. The joy the Christian Indians manifested on the occasion, exceeded all description.

All troubles being at an end, the Indians were at liberty to leave the barracks, but where to go was now the great question. The directors of the society feared to advise them to re-occupy their former places, which lay within the settlements of the whites; and they themselves having witnessed the trouble and ill will brought on the Brethren, in consequence of their residing near them, determined to settle in their own

country. Government being informed of their resolution, afforded them every assistance in its power to make their future situation agreeable, and themselves happy.—Mr. Fox even procured an order, by which they were to be supplied with flour until their harvest of corn should be gathered and housed.

On the 18th of March these Indians delivered the following address* to the governor of Pennsylvania:

"We the Christian Indians, now residing in the barracks, and intending to return with our wives and children unto our own country, approach unto you to take our leave, and to return unto you our most sincere thanks. We acknowledge with unfeigned gratitude, the great kindness and friendship you have shown unto us during the late war. We were indeed in danger of our lives, but you protected and defended us against our enemies, so that we have lived in peace. As a father, you have provided us with food and raiment.—You have nursed us in sickness, and buried our dead; we have likewise heard, with joy, that you will in future give us flour until our corn is ripe. We thank you more particularly, that we have been allowed to have our teachers with us during these heavy trials, who have instructed us daily in the word of God. They have shown us the way to salvation, so that we are now become acquainted with our Creator, and can love all men. We therefore greatly rejoice that our

* See Lockiel's History, part II. chap. xvi.

teachers, Schmick and Zeisberger go with us into the Indian country, that they may continue to instruct us in the doctrine of salvation. Your kindness, protection and benevolence, will never be forgotten by us—We shall bear your goodnes in our hearts ; we shall speak of it to the other Indians—As long as we live we shall remain true friends to the English.—We also beg permission to request of you, to give us powder and shot, that we may provide food on our journey—Finally, we pray that God may bless you!—We the underwritten do this in the name of all our people, remaining your faithful friends.

"JOHN PAPUNHANK,
"JOSHUA ANTHONY,
"SHEM EVANS."

This address was graciously received ; and the missionaries added their grateful thanks, both to the governor and to Mr. Fox, who, as commissary for government, had provided for these Indians during their troubles, with unwearied attention ; to which the latter replied, " I have willingly done what I could, knowing their innocence."—The Friends, otherwise called Quakers, were not forgotten by the Christian Indians for their kindness towards them.—They showed their gratitude to all their benefactors.—Their departure from the city was peaceful, forgetting all past injuries.

Arriving at Bethlehem they were well received, and rested for some time at Nain, their former place of

abode; when every thing being arranged for the journey, a farewell sermon was preached to them by their old and much respected missionary, Grube, at which a number of the Bethlehem congregation were present; when on the 3d of April they broke up, and in passing through Bethlehem took an affectionate leave of all the inhabitants of the place, who were assembled for that purpose.—The conductors appointed by government to escort them part of the way, were Mr. Moore, a justice of the peace; Mr. Ruchline, high sheriff; lieutenant Huntsecker, and Mr. Epty, gentlemen whose names are here inserted with gratitude, for their attention and kindness to those Indians. Some Brethren from Bethlehem likewise accompanied them until they had passed the frontier settlements: the distance to which the waggons with the sick, infirm, and the heavy baggage, had been ordered to proceed.

Their route was through Nazareth, crossing the Blue and Broad mountains, and the great Pine and and Beach swamp, direct to Wyoming, from whence the principal part of them went by water to Wyalusing, accompanied by the two missionaries Schmick and Zeisberger. During this journey, which was very fatiguing, several departed this life, otherwise they were of good cheer, cutting a path as they travelled, and met every evening around a fire for divine service, and reached the place of their destination after five weeks travelling.

They next determined upon a convenient spot for a town, situate on the banks of the Susquehanna, about one mile below Wyalusing creek; where they, for the present, erected temporary huts for themselves, but for their missionaries they built a tolerable good log house, and another for a meeting-house, and the place was called Friedenshutten, (tents of peace). It was delightful to see with what cheerfulness they set to work, at clearing and fencing in ground to plant on. Provisions being very scarce, they had, in a great measure, to look for a supply from the woods; and, in addition to what the hunter would procure in the meat way, the women and children would dig wild potatoes, and various other roots and plants, to serve as substitutes both for bread and sauce.

The welfare of the congregation much depended on its internal regulations; and that subject claimed all attention. Morning and evening meetings were daily held when the weather permitted, and the Sundays were entirely devoted to solemn reflection and divine service. The sacraments were also administered at proper seasons, and every regulation necessary for keeping peace and good order, made and agreed to.

Thus situated, they were content and happy; and their numbers increasing, brightened their prospect as to the future. To promote their security, they soon, after their arrival, sent a message with a string of Wampum to the chief of the Cayugas, (who, as plenipotentiary of the Six Nations, claimed the lordship or right

over all the lands on the Susquehanna,) to inform him of their having settled on this spot with the approbation of the governor of Pennsylvania, and believing that this could not but meet their full approbation; but by the answer returned, this was not found to be the case. The council of Onondago had indeed welcomed them on their arrival in this country, but objected to their living where they at present resided, saying that the land they had pitched upon had been stained with blood;* they therefore would advise them to come and settle at the head of the Cayuga Lake; which answer not being pleasing to the Christian Indians, they, in return, replied after the oriental style, leaving them to guess what they meant to do. They, in fact, knew the Six Nations too well, to trust to *their* word, and were not willing to be tools in their hands. However, they afterwards thought proper to send a deputation of Christian Indians, accompanied by their missionary Zeisberger, to explain matters to the great council, by which their objections were removed, and they permitted to stay where they were, together with their teachers.

The missionary Zeisberger, who many years since had been adopted as a son in the family of a principal chief of the Onandagoes, having more influence in their councils, than the Delawares themselves, was

* "Stained with blood," meaning the blood spilt indestroying the New England Settlement at Wyoming.

always the first character sought for, to effect a settlement, when matters of an unfavourable turena had taken place between the two nations. In what he said they placed full confidence ; and when he was absent from treaties held with the white people, they could not easily be reconciled, believing that his presence served as a check upon the interpreters, who (as the Indians were apt to say,) would suffer themselves to be bribed—especially when purchases of land were about being made from them.

Towards the end of the second year of this new settlement, the traders in liquor, both whites and Indians came on with this article to exchange with the Christian Indians for their peltry ; they however determined not to suffer the article to be sold in the town : these traders were ordered to depart, and never hereafter attempt to impose their liquor upon any of their people, for, if they did, their kegs would be stoved to pieces. The Indians indeed went off peaceably, saying that they never hereafter would come here with that article ; while the white traders from Paxton (the very people who were of the party that were going to murder these Indians while they were in the barracks at Philadelphia,) refused to take their liquor away ; saying that they had a right to sell liquor *where*, and to whom they pleased ; but the Indian Brethren, to whom the police of the place was committed, remaining firm by their resolution, they at length went off.

In other respects the settlement enjoyed perfect

tranquillity during the whole time of their residence there; and increased so fast, that in 1767, their meeting-house was much too small to contain their number —wherefore they built a large and spacious church, of squared white pinet imber, shingle roofed, with a neat cupola and bell on the top. And as they hoped they would be permitted to remain in this place for a great number of years, they did all their work in the best manner possible, both in building and fencing, so that at this time there were forty well built houses of spuared timber, and shingle roofed, in the village; and the gardens back of them were all in good clapboard fence.

The Indians who from time to time visited this place, were of various tribes and nations; viz. Mohawks, Mahicans, Wampanos, Cayugas, Senecas, Onondagoes, Tutelas, Tuscororas, Delawares, and Nanticoks. Famine at their respective homes, together with the general report, that the Christian Indians were hospitable, and at all times had plenty of provisions—they being an industrious and agricultural people, may be considered as one cause of these frequent visits; however, as most of them had heard the gospel preached while here, it was supposed that at least some of them might have also reaped a blessing. Exclusive of visitors, travellers often passed through their town, some of whom would make a halt for a few days. Thus, at one time, seventy-five Tuscorora Indians emigrating from North Carolina to join

their people in the country of the Six Nations rested on their journey, and were well provided for, during their stay; while, at another time, fifty-seven Nanticoks emigrating from the sea shore of Maryland, remained three weeks with them.

In the fall of this year (1767,) the missionary Ziesberger, learning that some Indians living on the Alleghany river were desirous of having the gospel preached to them, went thither, taking the national assistant, Anthony, with him—and having spent some time with them, preaching the gospel with great freedom, he returned again on the 5th of November. These peace messengers had suffered much on the journey, in travelling through such an extensive wilderness, interspersed with rivers and creeks, mountains and swamps; yet they thought themselves well rewarded, in having met with open ears to hear the gospel.

In the month of February of the year 1768, the Christian Indians at Friedenshutten were not a little disturbed by the intelligence brought to their village, that a white man had murdered ten Indians near Shamokin—namely, four men, four women, and two children. They apprehended that this unprovoked act of cruelty might rouse their nation to take revenge, in which case another war would be brought on between the two nations. They were also greatly concerned for the safety of their teachers, fearing that the relations of the slain, might, in their rage for revenge,

fall upon them; as, in such cases, any person having a fair skin being within their reach, is apt to be made a sacrifice. They therefore kept a strict watch about the persons of these, never leaving them exposed.

This dreadful event being made known to the governor of Pennsylvania, and to Sir William Johnson, the former immediately issued his proclamation, offering a reward of two hundred pounds, for apprehending the murderer of the ten Indians, promising to punish him with death; and this declaration, with two strings of Wampum, he sent to be made known to all the Indians living on Susquehanna, requesting them, at the same time, not to break the peace in consequence of the murder. A message to the same effect, was also sent by the governor to the Christian Indians, with a request that they should make it known in public assembly; and soon after, a special message was sent to the Christian Indians, from Sir William Johnson, desiring, if *they* knew any of the relations of those persons murdered near Shamokin, to send them to him, that he might wipe the tears from their eyes, comfort their afflicted hearts, and satisfy them on account of their grievances. Sir William also invited the chief of the Six Nations, and other tribes of Indians living on Susquehanna, and on the Ohio, to an amicable convention. The Christian Indians were also called on to send delegates; but having no inclination to interfere with political affairs, they gave the Cayuga chief full commission to appear and treat

with the rest in their name, which act however offended their Indian adversaries, and they took occasion to perplex the Christian Indians, by pretending that Sir William Johnson, and the whole assembly of chiefs, would consider them as enemies for having refused to send deputies, and that the consequence would be, that they would be destroyed, and their settlement broke up. However, the fears entertained on the occasion, were afterwards removed, on learning, from good authority, that Sir William, so far from censuring them on account of their not attending these councils, applauded their conduct, expressing the wish that many such Indian towns as Friedenshutten, might be established in the country.

Peace and friendship being again re-established between the English and Indians, through the exertions of Sir William Johnson, and the long existing disputes between the Cherokees and the Six Nations, having at the same time been amicably settled, all fears of an Indian war vanished, and the minds of the people were at ease. The (so called) king of the Cherokees, was conducted by the Oneida chief with great pomp through the country of the Iroquois, (Six Nations,) and also to Friedenshutten, where the latter, in behalf of himself, and the great council of Onondago, applauded the inhabitants of the place, for having invited teachers to come among them for the purpose of instructing them in the knowledge of God, their creator.

The joy felt by the Christian Indians at the res-

toration of peace, was, however, somewhat lessened, by an unexpected account recieved some time after, that the Six Nations had sold a large tract of country to the English, in which their fine town and settlement, Friedenshutten, was included. They justly apprehended that this would be the cause of new troubles, nor were they mistaken, as will be seen in the sequel.

The missionary Zeisberger, and Senreman, as an assistant, together with three faithful families from Friedenshutten, had, in the spring of this year (1768) gone to the Alleghany river, and there established a new mission settlement. They had, in going there, taken every advantage of water navigation, but at Tioga they were met by an embassy of twenty captains from the Six Nations, who, by a belt of Wampum, bid them return, it not being agreeable to them that they should proceed. They were made sinsible of the error they had committed, by neglecting first to inform the chiefs of the Six Nations of their intentions; of this duty they were now reminded. The missionary promising them that nothing should be wanting in yet doing what, by their usages, had been omitted, they were at length permitted to proceed; but the chiefs of the Six Nations were not so easily pacified, they considered the act as degrading *them*, or, as their having lost somewhat of their superiority over the Delawares, and felt mortified for the moment. They however were at length pacified.

Zeisberger, on his arrival at the Alleghany, preached

every day to the Indians, and it became evident that his words had a good effect on many. They built themselves a comfortable log house, on a convenient spot at a small distance from the Indian village, to which all who felt a desire to hear the gospel, resorted. Learning among other things, from the missionary, that stealing was a crime, and a sin, one man approached him very seriously, saying, that he never in his life had been guilty of theft, except in two instances, where he had stolen two sheep and a hen, the property of a white man.* Many unfavourable reports were soon spread, respecting the conduct of the white people towards the Indians, since they had come into the country, and predictions were circulated what they would do to them, if they should get a footing in their country. Even the Seneca chief of Zaneshio, became enraged at the Brethren's settling here, suspecting that other white people would shortly follow, build a fort, and take possession of their country. By some, fears were entertained of their being made slaves, should they tolerate a preacher from among the white people, and suffer themselves to be instructed by him. Even the old women went about, publicly complaining of the failure of many necessaries of life, and saying that the Indian corn was devoured by worms—the game had begun to flee the country—that

* It was a common saying with the Indians of the Moncey tribe, that stealing from white people was no crime, for that these had been thieves upon them, ever since they first came into their country.

neither chestnuts nor bilberries ripened any more; all which they ascribed to the Indians having changed their ancient way of living, in consequence of what the white men had told them, and this white preacher (Zeisberger,) was saying to them. The conjurer, in turn, advised that the Indians should make sacrifices, to appease the wrath of the Great Spirit, who was offended by the presence of these white teachers, and at the doctrine they preached. Secret messages were sent by the Six Nations, to these Indians, to rid themselves in the best possible manner of this white preacher, (Zeisberger,) either by banishing or killing him. A distant heathen preacher sent a belt to the Monsey chief, *Allemewi*, (who was a friend and warm defender of the gospel)—declaring that if they adhered to the doctrines preached by this white man, the sun would burn up all the Indian corn in the land. Another Indian coming forward, declared that several of his nation having been on a visit to the king of England, he had cautioned the Indians not listen to the doctrine of the Brethren, as thereby they would be led straightway to hell.

Many other reports, tending to withdraw the attention of the Indians from gospel truths, were resorted to; among others, was that of Wangomend, hitherto a silent hearer, but now a preacher, who pretended to have had a view of the heavens, and its inhabitants—and endeavoured to persuade the Indians to believe that, in the state they were in by nature, they

were most acceptable to God. That in the heaven of the Indians, there was plenty of every thing—while in that of the white people, there was a scarcity. And as a last resort, the traders in liquor were permitted to traffick in that article, it being expected that what the Indians would not venture to do, when sober, might easily be effected, when in a state of intoxication.

During all these threats and troubles, many Indians remained faithful; and apprehending that during a state of intoxication, the missionary might be murdered, they endeavoured to prevent liquors being brought into the settlements.

As the Iroquois were continually instigating the Monseys to persevere in their scheme of murdering the missionaries, Zeisberger, with the assistance of the two deputies sent by the Monsey chief, Allemewi, made a second journey to the principal chief at Zoneshis,* but this chief being from home at the time, the council could not determine on any thing; however the opinion they gave was favourable.

The Indian preacher Wangomend, who now took the lead of the adverse party, continuing to urge the Indians to withdraw themselves from Zeisberger, and the doctrine he preached, and become *his* hearers. He continued to impose on them his pretended sights and visions, whereby it had been manifested

* By the white people called *Chinosee*.

to him, that the Indian doctrine in making atonement for sins, by purging the body, and having feasts and sacrifices, was the only doctrine pleasing and acceptable to God. At one time he stated, that even some white people,* who had heard the Indian preachers, were convinced that the Indians had the true doctrine, and that they had resolved to adopt the same in the spring.

While this impostor was harassing the missionary, and troubling those Indians who were desirous of hearing him, three Seneca chiefs arrived; and having learned that Zeisberger intended to move off with his converts and hearers to a more convenient and quiet place, they forbade him, by a black string of wampum presented at the time, to leave the place until further orders from the council of Onondago;—and by another string, they laid an injunction upon all the inhabitants to refrain from going in future to hear Zeisberger's sermons.—But this missionary, not easily frightened, stept boldly forward, and in the presence of these chiefs, and that of the assembly, bore a powerful testimony to the love of God revealed to man in Christ Jesus our Lord; after which the Monsey chief, Alimi, returned an answer to the speech of the Seneca chiefs, informing them that they positively should leave this place, with the missionary, and move to a more suitable and quiet one, beyond the Alleghany river. This they also carried into effect in the spring of

* Traders.

1769, by moving from *Goschgoshing*, (in English, *place of hogs*,) to *Lawunakhannek*, (in English, *middle branch, or stream*,) which place lay about fifteen miles to the southwest of the former place.

During a residence of nearly a year at the first mentioned place, they had suffered so much abuse by means of Wangomend's enmity, that it was astonishing they held out so long. Nor was this all; many plots were laid for murdering Zeisberger, if they could not otherwise get him away; yet he with undaunted courage remained at his post, firmly relying for protection on Him, whom he was serving

In the spring of the same year, 1769, a new mission establishment was begun at Sheshequon, an Indian settlement on Susquehanna, about thirty miles distant from Friedenshutten, where the Brethren had for a long time been invited to settle, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to them; and to which place numbers of the Delawares, from the country above, came to hear the word of salvation, many of whom were converted and added to Christ's flock.

At Friedenshutten* the glorious work of God flourished throughout the whole year, and many of the visitors were awakened from the sleep of sin, several of whom had formerly been noted transgressors.—They had also received several visits from the chiefs of different nations, which had the effect of keeping up a good understanding between them; and

* *Wyalusing*, is the proper Indian name of this place.

from some of whom they learnt with certainty, that the Six Nations, at the last treaty held at sir William Johnsons, had actually sold the very land they lived on, to the English ; although they had, in the year 1765, formally granted and confirmed this district and spot of land to the Christian Indians.

On this occasion these Christian Indians sent deputies to the governor of Pennsylvania, to consult him on the subject, and, if possible, to obtain a confirmation of the above grant from him. His excellency having received the deputies very kindly, returned by them his answer in writing, by which he promised that as a peaceable and quiet people, they should not be disturbed in their possesions ; and that he had given orders to the surveyor general, not to suffer any lines to be run, within five miles of their town. He also sent a favourable message, of the same import, respecting the land on which the Christian Indian village, Sheshequon, was built.

However, the confusion and troubles which the missionaries apprehended would accrue in consequence of the sale being made, soon became evident, by some speculators laying claim by authority, or a pretended authority, to the very land these Indians lived on; setting, at the same time, surveyors they had brought on for the purpose, to run lines through the tract agreeable to their direction.

The Six Nations, after having treated these Indians so treacherously, in selling their land, next at-

tempted to unite them with other savage tribes on Susquehanna, for the purpose of drawing them, by degrees, nearer to themselves, so that they might have them entirely under their control. In this view they sent a message, in 1770, to the Christian Indians, advising them to settle at or near Assinink, (in English, the *big Rock*,) which however was rejected with disdain; while, at the same time, they were told that the proposal they had made, was both void of honesty and common sense. Shortly after, they (the Six Nations) sent another message, with two Spanish dollars, which their messengers were to deliver to the Christian Indians, as *their* share of the money for the land sold by them to the English.* But they returned the two dollars with this short answer; "as we have sold no land, we can have no claim to this money, keep it for yourselves"!

At Goshgoshink, the Indian preacher Wangomend, had gained a great ascendancy over his hearers, after the Christian Indians had left that place; yet it sometimes happened, that in the midst of his joy, he had the mortification to see some of his people leave him and join the Christian Indians.

Among the numerous visitors which had come to see the new Christian Indian congregation at Lawunakhannek, was a most distinguished character,

* By sending the two dollars to the Christian Indians, the Six Nations meant to say, that thus they had been cheated by the English in the purchase made; that for every five miles square they received 2 dollars.

named *Glikhican*, (in English, the *stud*, or *foremost sight on a gunbarrel.*) This extraordinary man was, by all who knew him, both admired and dreaded, on account of his superior courage as a warrior—his talents in council—and his unequalled manner of delivering himself as a national orator, or speaker : he at that time being first councellor to the chief of the Wolf tribe, *Pakanke*, at Cascaski, (Cusheushke) on the Big Beaver.—This man, with the approbation of his chief and the council, had undertaken to go purposely to Lawunakhannek, there to dispute with, and confound the missionary Zeisberger, on the doctrine he was preaching to the Indians. Although he had thought himself armed at all points, sufficiently to withstand any white preacher's doctrine, he had the good sense not to begin the contest, but suffer the missionary to preach as usual, until he should be able to detect doctrinal errors. Having attended the preachings of Zeisberger, for that purpose, he was so struck with conviction of the truth of what he heard, and feeling the power of the precious word, that he, wherever he went, and on his return to Cusheushke, reported favourable of the missionary and his converts ; which was the reason that, in the year following, they were invited to come and settle in that country.

The declaration of this much admired man, effected also a change in the minds and conduct of the chief and council of Goshgoshink ; who now, instead of forbidding their people to go to hear the misssonary

preach, encouraged them to go, the consequence of which was, that many went, heard and believed, and joined the congregatiton at Lawunakhannek; while Wangomand, the Indian preacher, finding himself deserted by those who had hitherto supported him, now sought to gain the good will of those he had hitherto persecuted.

The favourable change which had taken place since Glikhican had been here, encouraged the congregation at Lawunakhannek, to build a new meeting-house, sufficiently large to contain a great number of hearers —and the hopes of a permanent peace added to their happiness; yet, as to the latter, they soon found themselves mistaken, for the Senecas, their neighbours, and withal the most restless tribe of the Six Nations, had sought quarrels both with the English and the Cherokee nation. Their complaint against the former, was that of having been cheated out of so much of their land; and in their resentment, they declared that to revenge the injustice done them, they could never do the English sufficient injury. They pretended, that by the treaty concluded between the Six Nations and the Cherokees, ample satisfaction had not been made them; and that, therefore, they would take it upon themselves to obtain it. Having afterwards sent their warriors out against the Cherokees, two of them fell into the hands of the latter; who, after upbraiding them for the faithlessness of their nation, in not abiding by the conditions agreed

upon at the last treaty—where both they and the Six Nations were to hold the peace belt fast with *both* their hands—they cut off the fingers from both the prisoners' hands, sending them home to their chiefs with this message; namely, "we had concluded a peace with each other, by which we both were to hold the chain of friendship fast with *both* our hands. *We* have done so; but as you did not, we conclude that you have no use for fingers, and therefore have cut them off, to rid you of useless members."

Hostilities having commenced between these two nations, and the Christian Indians wishing to withdraw from their hostile neighbours, they accepted the friendly offer so repeatedly made to them by the chiefs of Cushcushke, to come and settle on Big Beaver river. Having, in consequence, informed the chiefs at Goschgoshink of their intention, they had no objection to their going, only wishing that the missionary might forgive and forget past injuries commited by them, which being readily agreed to, they parted as friends; and being ready on the 17th day of April, 1770, set out in sixteen canoes, passing down the Alleghany river to Pittsburg, thence down the Ohio to Big Beaver, thence up the said river for about twenty miles from the mouth, where they halted, and commenced making a settlement, calling the place Langundowi oteey, (in English, *Peace village;* by which name I shall call this place in the sequel). They had met with no other difficulty on the voyage, except

a delay of two days at the falls of Beaver, where they had to drag their canoes, and carry their baggage a mile over land, but were met here by *Glikhican*, with persons to help them.

On the arrival of these Christian Indians, the neighbouring Indians were astonished to see people of their nation, differing so much in their manners and behaviour from themselves, and to hear a doctrine preached, they never before had heard. The chief came from Kushkushke to welcome them ; but the scene was soon changed, when he saw that his first counsellor, Glikhican, left him and joined the Christian Indians. Indeed, he loss of this man was considered a partial loss to the whole nation.

While Pakanko, the chief, and Glikhican, were contending together on the propriety of such conduct, a black belt of wampum, which had been brought on from the great council at Gekelemukpechink, (in English, *still water*,) was laid before the chief, containing the following advice and notice ; namely, " that in consideration of an epidemical disease, which had raged among them for some time, carrying off great numbers of Delawares, and believed to have been brought on them by the power of witchcraft, some of the counsellors were of the opinion, that by embracing Christianity the contagion would cease. That therefore they were unanimous, that this remedy should be resorted to ; and that they hereby declared, that the word of God should be received by them ; and further, that who-

ever should oppose the measure ought to be considered an enemy to the nation."

This resolute and sincere message, so favourable to the cause of the Brethren, silenced their adversaries; and was, in a great measure, the cause of the prosperity of the Brethren's mission from that time forward. A misunderstanding, from a belief that the Christian Indians were averse to contribute to the support of the affairs of the nation, being also removed, by their declaring, "that though they never intended to interfere with state affairs, nor with wars, yet they would always be willing to bear their share of the public burden for peace measures; and in fact towards all measures resorted to, and adopted for the welfare of the nation—provided such measures had no tendency to molest either the white people, or any of the Indian nations." They openly declared: "that the Brethren should not only be tolerated throughout the nation, and be at liberty to preach the gospel wherever they pleased, but should likewise be considered as adopted into their family."

Encouraged by this declaration, the new comers commenced building comfortable dwelling houses for themselves, and a spacious chapel of squared timbers; and the inhabitants increasing in numbers, the missionary, a young man, and his wife, who for many years had been in the service of the Brethren's mission, both in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, being sent

for from their post on Susquehanna, arrived at this place (Peace village,) in October of the year 1770.

The invitation given by the great council at Gekelemukpechink, extended not only to Zeisberger and the congregation settled on Beaver creek, but a deputation was also sent in the year 1771, to the Christian Indian congregations at Wyalusing and Sheshequon, on the Susquehanna, inviting them to come on with their teachers, and settle on the Muskingum, (in English, *Elk's eyes*,) where they would be received as friends, and have the choice of land, on which they might live in peace and safety—and as a proof, that by sending this message, no evil was intended, they requested Zeisberger to certify their sincerity, by a letter in his own hand writing, which being done, Wangomend immediately set out with the dispatches, and having delivered the same to the Christian Indians at Friedenshutten (Wyalusing) and Sheshequon, he received the short answer; "that they thanked the chiefs on Muskingum for their kind interposition in their behalf,* but that at present they were too heavy† to rise—that when they should have lightened themselves, they would inform the chiefs and give them a decisive answer."

Sometime after, the chief, Netawatwes repeated the

* Alluding to their being distressed by the Six Nations, who had sold their land to the English.

† "Too heavy," meaning they had their whole harvest of corn and vegetables on hand, it being the fall season.

invitation in a more pressing manner, in which the Wyandots (whom the Delawares call their uncles,) joined, assuring the Christian Indians that they would give them sufficient land, and never sell the ground under their feet to the white people, as the Six Nations had done to them.

The Brethren at Bethlehem being disposed to consult with the Christian Indians on the subject, the bishop, Nathaniel Seidal, together with two directors of the society from Europe, who at that time happened to be there, undertook the journey to Friedenshutten, (Wyalusing,) and having had a consultation with them on the subject, the final decision was postponed to a future day; meanwhile, however, some families who had signified a wish to agree to the proposal of the chiefs, were permitted to depart for that place, that fall.

The two Brethren from Europe, Gregor and Loretz, who had never before seen a congregation of North American Indians, were uncommonly delighted; they passed some days with them, during which time they neglected no opportunity of seeing them in their various occupations—their meetings—and conversing with them concerning their inward experience—also administering holy baptism to several, who were desirous for it, had given proof of their sincerity; stood astonished, thanking the Lord for his mercies and goodness, and praising his name for what he had done to these heathen people.

The missionary Zeisberger, having in the summer of the same year (1771.) been on a visit to Bethlehem, now went himself, accompanied by the writer of this narrative, to Friedenshutten ; and having, with the Indians there, deliberated on the expediency of their continuing where they were, or of removing to some other place, were unanimous in the opinion—that as these lands were sold, and the white people were becoming troublesome—often imposing liquor on them —there was no prospect of their living in undisturbed peace—that they therefore would accept the offer of the chiefs on the Muskingum, and the next spring move thither in a body.

In September, the above mentioned missionary (Zeisberger,) returned to his post on Beaver creek, accompanied by the writer of this, who was to be an assistant to him. During his four months absence, some new members had joined the congregation; while, on the other hand, new enemies had sprung up, among whom was a new preacher, who had already propagated such lies among the Indians, as he imagined would sufficiently serve the purpose of having the missionaries banished out of the country. Of Zeisberger, he had said, that "it was well known among the white people, that he was a seducer of Indians, for the purpose of having them transported as slaves, where they would be harnessed to the plough, and whipped to work, &c." Added to this, there were among the Indians, rumours of a war soon taking place,

in consequence of several murders which had lately been committed by white people, on harmless inoffensive Indians, which seemed to hold out sufficient provocation for this step. Indeed scattered Indians living near to the Ohio river, were already fleeing to the respective inland villages; some threatening to take revenge on the missionaries, they being of the same colour as the murderers. At length liquor being procured for the execution of their diabolical design, obliged the Brethren to keep a strong guard over their missionaries: the Indian sisters having already fled to the woods for safety.

The storm however blew over; and although some could not be reconciled to the Brethrens being tolerated in the country, others respected them, and encouraged one another to go and attend their meetings. Even the chief Pakanke, advised his own children to go and hear the gospel preached, and also to believe what they should hear.

The chiefs of Gekelemukpechink (distant about ninety miles,) having early in the year 1772, with great earnestness renewed the request, that the Brethren might come to their quarter of the country, Zeisberger with five Indian families, in all twenty-eight persons, set out on the 14th of April for that place, and arriving on May the 3d, at the spot, which to them appeared to be most convenient and advantageous for a missionary settlement; they built temporary cabins, cleared land, and planted it—giving the

place the name or Shoenbrun, (in English *Fine Spring;* and in the Indian language, Weelhick Thuppek;") and here, as in their other missionary establishments, they had daily meetings.

Meanwhile the two congregations on Susquehanna had been preparing for their emigration; and the Six Nations now seeing they were in earnest to leave the country, became much displeased. They first attempted to discourage the Christian Indians from going there, by insinuating that all the land in that country was stained with blood;—that even the rivers were of the colour of blood.*—Next they attempted, by fair words and promises, to remove from the minds of these Indians, their former treachery towards them; they offered to unite with them, so that they would be as though they were but one body;—they hoped the little bird they had heard singing, had sung† to

* Figurative expression when speaking of a country in which bloody wars had been carried on.

† The "singing of a bird," as the Indian phrase is, applies to all such accounts, sayings, or even messages, which do not appear to bear the stamp of authenticity. Now, although the message sent to the Christian Indians, from the chief and great council of the Delawares, on the Muskingum, for them to come into their country, was to its fullest extent authentic; yet the Six Nations, who would still be considered as the great head of the whole, not being first consulted thereon, strove to turn the whole proceedings of the Delawares into ridicule, as though the great council of their nation, were no more than so many birds—and their resolutions and messages to be considered as the song of birds which had passed by.

no effect. When, however, after all their address, they found them resolved to go, they requested a continuance of the friendship and good will of the Christian Indians, who in return asked the same favour of them.

Friedenshutten, (Wyalusing,) now about to be forsaken, was a favourite spot of the Christian Indians, having both natural advantages, and artificial charms. The town had been regularly laid out, and built for the greatest part of squared white pine timbers. Their chapel was an ornament to the place. Most of their garden lots were put under good palings—their fields in fine order and cultivation, with a number of fruit trees planted out in proper places. These improvements, on which seven years labour had been expended, was now taken off of their hands, without making them the smallest recompense. The Friends (Quakers) however, according to their generous custom, sent them one hundred dollars, as a mark of their friendship to them, which they received with gratitude. Being in readiness to set out on the journey; and the rev. John Ettwein, of Bethlehem, whom they had solicited to accompany them to the place of their destination, having arrived, they met for the last time in their chapel, to offer up thanks and praises to the Lord, for the many favours and blessings received from him in this place; and further to supplicate his peace and protection, not only during the journey, but at all times, and in all situations. And lastly, the Indians

having taken an affectionate leave of their much beloved teachers, the missionary Schmick, and wife, they set out, their number amounting to 241 persons, including the missionary Rothe, his wife and child, who were to remain with them wherever they went.

The journey was long, tedious and fatiguing, and proved a practical school of patience to the missionaries with them. Some had set out by land with the cattle; having, exclusive of horses for carrying the sick and the baggage, seventy head of horned cattle to take care of, while others took advantage of navigable rivers and streams, as far as was practicable to proceed; these having the charge of all bulky and heavy articles, such as plough irons, harrow teeth, pick axes, all kinds of farming utensils and tools, iron pots and large brass kettles, for the boiling of maple sugar, &c. as also the provisions. The land travellers, however, had the most difficult part to perform. For they often had to penetrate with their cattle through incredible thickets and swamps, wading through rivers and brooks, crossing hills and mountains, enduring most tremendous thunderstorms, and exposed to the bite of the rattle snake, which in some particular places were very numerous, and by which some horses were bitten, and died—and, above all, suffering by the bite of that most tormenting insect, the sand-fly; which in some places was so abundant, that they almost resembled a fog in the air: such in particular was one place, to which the Indians, many years before, had given the

name of " Ponks Uteney,"* which signifieth the habitation of the sand fly, (or gnat). Not a moment's rest was to be expected at this place, otherwise than by kindling fires throughout the camp, and sitting in the smoke. Added to this, the travellers had unfortunately taken the measles on the journey, of which many became sick, especially of the children, several of whom died, among the rest a poor cripple, ten or eleven years old, who had been carried thus far in a basket by his mother, on her back. Otherwise they were well supplied, game being plenty in the woods: the hunters having killed upwards of one hundred deer in the eight weeks they had been on the journey.

On the 5th of August the first division, under the direction of the rev. John Ettwein, arrived at Peace Village on Big Beaver, and some days after the other division, with their missionary Rothe, and family, also arrived, when thanks and praises were offered up to the throne of grace for the protection granted them in innumerable cases, and the dangers to which they had been exposed—as also, for having granted them mind and heart, to continue in love and peace together. During the whole of the journey, meet-

* The Indian tradition, as related at the time, (1772,) runs thus: That about thirty years before, an Indian hermit had dwelt there on a rock, who being a magician, would appear to travellers and hunters in different garbs, frightening some, and murdering others. At length a valiant chief surprised and killed him. Thus far, the Indians all say that the story is true. But fabulous reports add, that the heroic chief having burnt the hermit's bones to ashes, he threw them into the air to be blown off, but instead of this, the ashes turned into "Ponksak," *sand flies*.

ings were daily held by the light of fires, when the weather permitted.

Soon after the arrival of these emigrants, the rev. John Ettwein, David Zeisberger, (who had, a few days before, purposely come on to Peace village to meet the emigrants) and the writer of this narrative, together with the greater part of the Indian Brethren and sisters who had come from Wyalusing and Sheshequon, set out for Shonbrun, on Muskingum; and arriving there on the 23d of the month of August, were all highly pleased at seeing this new mission establishment; but as it now becme necessary that the Brethren and Christian Indians should inform the chiefs officially, at Gekelemukpechink, of the arrival of their friends and relatives from Susquehanna, they appointed a delegation for the purpose, choosing John Papunhank for their speaker. They were well received by the chiefs and national council, and the compliments usual on such occasions having been exchanged, they returned again.

During the stay of the rev. John Ettwein, the rules of the congregation, as agreed to, and approved of by the national assistants, were read and accepted by the whole congregation. They were as follows:

1. We will know of no other God, nor worship any other but him who has created us, and redeemed us with his most precious blood.

2. We will rest from all labour on Sundays, and attend the usual meetings on that day for divine service.

3. We will honour father and mother, and support them in age and distress.

4. No one shall be permitted to dwell with us, without the consent of our teachers.

5. No thieves, murderers, drunkards, adulterers, and whoremongers, shall be suffered among us.

6. No one that attendeth dances, sacrifices, or heathenish festivals, can live among us.

7. No one using *Trchappich* (or witchcraft) in hunting, shall be suffered among us.

8. We will renounce all juggles, lies, and deceits of Satan.

9. We will be obedient to our teachers, and to the helpers, (national assistants,) who are appointed to see that good order be kept, both in and out of the town.

10. We will not be idle and lazy—nor tell lies of one another—nor strike each other—we will live peaceably together.

11. Whosoever does any harm to another's cattle, goods or effects, &c. shall pay the damage.

12. A man shall have only one wife—love her and provide for her, and the children. Likewise a woman shall have but one husband, and be obedient unto him; she shall also take care of the children, and be cleanly in all things.

13. We will not permit any rum, or spirituous liquor, to be brought into our towns. If strangers or traders happen to bring any, the helpers (national assistants) are to take it into their possession, and take care

not to deliver it to them until they set off again.

14. None of the inhabitants shall run in debt with traders, nor receive goods on commission for traders, without the consent of the national assistants.

15. No one is to go on a journey or long hunt, without informing the minister or stewards of it.

16. Young people are not to marry without the consent of their parents, and taking their advice.

17. If the stewards or helpers apply to the inhabitants for assistance, in doing work for the benefit of the place, such as building meetings and school houses, clearing and fencing lands, &c. they are to be obedient.

18. All necessary contributions for the public, ought cheerfully to be attended to.

The above rules were made, and adopted at a time when there was a profound peace; when however, six years afterwards, (during the revolutionary war,) individuals of the Delaware Nation took up the hatchet to join in the conflict, the national assistants proposed and insisted on having the following additional rules added: namely,

19. No man inclining to go to war—which is the shedding of blood, can remain among us.

20. Whosoever purchases goods or articles of warriors, *knowing* at the time that such have been stolen or plundered, must leave us. We look upon this as giving encouragement to murder and theft.

According to custom, these rules were, at the commencement of every year, read in public meeting; and no new member, or applicant, could be permitted

to live in the congregation, without making a solemn promise that he or she would strictly conform to them. When any person residing in the congregation gave offence, or caused disturbance, it was the duty of the national assistants, first to admonish such person or persons in a friendly manner; but where such admonition proved ineffectual, then to consult together for the purpose of publicly putting him, her, or them, out of the society, and dismissing such altogether from the place. Next to these rules, other necessary and proper regulations were made and adopted; for instance, respecting the daily meetings and the duty of church wardens, schools, attending to visitors, and the attention to be paid to the poor, sick and needy, or distressed—and also with regard to contributions to be made from time to time for the benefit of the congregation at large, as also individuals in the same, unable to support themselves, or furnish the necessary attire for the deceased, so that the corpse of the poorest person in the community was dressed as decent as the wealthy, &c.

The rev. John Ettwein having again returned to Bethlehem, with the most sanguine hopes and pleasing prospect of the future success of the mission, the new arrived emigrants went to work with great cheerfulness in erecting houses, and preparing grounds for planting, the next season. And that part of the congregation of the Mohican tribe, which, in order to procure provisions for the winter, had made

a halt on Beaver creek, having now also come on, they were advised to settle ten miles lower down the river, where they built a town, which they called Gnadenhutten.

The missionary Zeisberger, accompanied by two Indian Brethren, also paid a visit to the Shawanos, at Waketameki, about fifty miles down the river, where he was well received, and preached the gospel to a number of attentive hearers.

The neighbouring Indians, having within the last year become very troublesome to the Christian Indians residing on Big Beaver; and when drunk, having come on purpose to murder the missionary Rothe, it became the wish of the inhabitants of the place to leave this settlement entirely, and join their congregations on the Muskingum. Accordingly, on the 13th of April, 1773, this handsome village was evacuated; one part of the congregation travelling across the country by land, and the other divisions, accompanied by the writer of this narrative, in twenty-two canoes, loaded with the baggage, Indian corn, &c. went by water, first down the Big Beaver to the Ohio—thence down that river to the mouth of the Muskingum—thence up that river, according to its course, near two hundred miles, to Shonbrun, the place of destination.

Visitors were almost daily arriving from Gekelemuckpechink, (the seat of government,) and other villages, to take a view of the Christian Indians' settlement, and witness their industry, especially their

buildings, and plouged grounds. Added to this, as a curiosity, they were astonished to see such a number of their nation living so happily together, and putting their hands to manual labour. To all who came to them, the gospel was preached, which was the cause of many joining the congregation, who became faithful members, amongst whom was a celebrated chief, named Echpalawahund, whose exemplary life, from the day of his conversion unto his death, was a happy example for the imitation of others. A Cherokee Indian, who in the late war between his nation and the Six Nations, had fallen a prisoner to the latter, but being afterwards liberated, also joined the congregation some time in this year, and together with his wife, was baptized.

Meanwhile the prospect bid fair towards the conversion of the Delaware nation; occurrences had taken place in different quarters, which, to appearance, threatened not only to check this prospect, but also involve the nation in a war. Report stated, that the Six Nations had sold a large tract of country lying south of the river Ohio, and below the mouth of the Canhawa river, to the English. A country, (as the saying among the western nations at that time was,) to which they had no possible claim, the land belonging to other nations; and further, that the white people were already taking possession of it.

The Delaware nation, taught by sad experience to mistrust the acts of the Six Nations, thought they

could plainly see into the policy of this act, which (said they) was that of involving those tribes, who actually did claim these lands, in a war with the English, whereby the former would be weakened, while their (the Six Nations) power or authority, over all the other Indian nations, would be established.

Reports were also at this time in circulation, that quarrels had arisen between several Indian nations; and that, in some instances, acts of hostility had been committed—likewise, that the Cherokees had declared war against the Wawiachtenos, (by some called *Weeas*,) in which latter case, the Delawares being grandfather to the two contending nations, were applied to as peacemakers between them. The Delaware council, not being at the time possessed of the quantity of wampum beads requisite on the occasion, applied to the Christian Indians for a contribution of this article, who freely gave them twelve fathom. As soon as the belts were prepared, an embassy of twelve men was sent to the Cherokee nation, with proposals of peace, which were accepted.

Meanwhile the Christian Indians at both places, Shonbrun and Gnadenhutten, encouraged by their increasing numbers, resolved to build at each of these places a new chapel, both of which were finished before the winter sat in. That at Shonbrun was forty feet by thirty-six, and that at Gnadenhutten, somewhat smaller. Both were built of squared timbers, and shingle roofed, with a cupola and bell. The

towns being regularly laid out, the streets wide and kept clean, and the cattle kept out by means of fences, gave the whole a neat appearance, and excited the astonishment of all visitors.

The Gnadenhutten congregation not yet having a resident minister, though frequently visited by a missionay from Shonbrun, now sent several Indian brethren to Bethlehem, to bring on their beloved former teacher, *Schmick*, and his wife, for whom they already had built a convenient house, and who arrived on the 18th of August in that year, (1773).

But as the making of new settlements in a wilderness, is not only laborious to the undertakers, on account of so much necessary work crowding on their hands, but is also subject to many inconveniences and exposures, which produce injurious effects on the constitution, in consequence of which, in the present instance, many became sick, and some died; among the latter, was that venerable and distinguished national assistant, Anthony. This man, aged 77 years, had from the day of his baptism, in 1749, unto his death, in 1773, lived as a true follower of Christ. Being well versed in scripture, he was of great use, and a blessing to his nation—having been instrumental towards the conversion of many. For many years he had served as a chapel interpreter of the missionaries, when divine service was performed. On his death-bed, he exhorted all who visited him, to abide in faith, cheerfully saying, that he would soon be with Jesus, his

redeemer. His memory will remain precious with all who knew him.

Before the end of this year, the missionary Zeisberger, paid a second visit to the Shawanese, at Wakatameki, where he was well received, and hoped he would live to see this nation also embrace the gospel, to the salvation of their souls.

The year 1774 was a year of trial to the Indian congregations, on account of a war which broke out between the people of Virginia, and the Senecas and Shawanos tribes of Indians ; in which, as it became well known, the white people were the aggressors.—Of these latter, a number were settled on choice spots of land, on the south side of the river Ohio, while the Indians dwelt on the north side, then their territory. The sale of the lands, below the Conhawa river, had opened a wide field for speculation. The whole country on the Ohio river, had already drawn the attention of many persons from the neighbouring provinces ; who generally forming themselves into parties, would rove through the country in search of land, either to settle on, or for speculation ; and some, careless of watching over their conduct, or destitute of both honour and humanity, would join a rabble, (a class of people generally met with on the frontiers) who maintained, that to kill an Indian, was the same as killing a bear or a buffalo, and would fire on Indians that came across them by the way ;—nay, more, would decoy such as lived across the river, to come over, for the

purpose of joining them in hilarity ; and when these complied, they fell on them and murdered them. Unfortunately, some of the murdered were of the family of Logan,* a noted man among the Indians.

It is indiscribable, how enraged the relations of the murdered became, on seeing such abominable acts committed without cause, and even by some white men who had always pretended to be their friends. The cries of the relations of the sufferers soon reached the ears of the respective nations to whom they belonged, and who quickly resolved to take revenge on the long knives ;† for (said they,) " they are a barbarous people." Some however, considering the difficulty of meeting the perpetrators, proposed killing every white man then in their country, until they should believe themselves amply revenged for the valuable lives lost by the long knife men, (Virginians). Nothing could equal the rage of the Senecas, in particular ; and it was impossible to foresee where the matter would end. Parties after parties came on— the missionaries had to keep within their houses— the enraged Indians insisted that every able man should do his utmost to take revenge. They kept on the look out for traders, to kill them, but these had already generally fled the country, while some were

* See appendix to Mr. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, for particulars of this man, and the murders.

† So they call the people of Virginia.

taken under protection by friendly Shawanese Indians, who afterwards conducted them safely to Pittsburg. These good people however, oh ! shameful to relate ! were, on their return, waylaid, by some of those white vagabonds—fired upon, and one man* shot in the breast; in which situation he, with his wound bleeding, fortunately reached Shonbrun, where it was dressed, and all possible attention paid him.

A Mr. John Jones, who followed trading, and was at the time coming with two men in a canoe up the Muskingum, being ignorant of what had happened, was happily apprised of his danger, and the risk he was running, by an Indian woman, who discovering him, advised him, without a moment's delay, to leave the canoe, and take the woods direct for Newcomerstown, where he would be safe. On the second day of their travelling in this manner, having accidently hit upon the path leading to the Shawanese towns, at Waketameki, one of Jones's men, feeling himself so fatigued by travelling in the woods, declared that he would not leave the path again, and from which resolution he could not be persuaded. Scarcely had these two men got to the ridge, when they heard the scalp yell, in the direction they supposed the man to be. The fact was ; a large party of Senecas, relations of those who had been murdered on the Ohio, and now on their way to Wakelameki, meeting this man,

*See Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, page 223.

murdered him; and in their rage, cut up the body and stuck the pieces on the bushes, marching off in triumph. Captain White Eyes, who lived some distance from the path, hearing the yell, ran instantly in that direction, where he found the mangled body, which he collected and buried. The party however, on returning the next day and finding what had been done, tore up the grave, and scattered the pieces at a greater distance. White Eyes, now on the watch, discovering what they were doing, repaired to the spot a second time, and succeeding in finding every part of the mangled body, carefully dug a grave in a more secured place, and intered the whole.

Next a Mr. Duncan, well known to almost every Indian in the parts, was sent out from Pittsburg, to endeavour to procure from the enemy a cessation of hostilities, until government could hold a conference with them. But before he reached Waketameki, having captain White Eyes for his conductor, he was fired upon,* and had a very narrow escape. The enemy now renewed their threats against the Delawares—declaring that if they did not join in the conflict, they should pay for it.

A report being in circulation, that the governor† of Virginia was marching troops against the enemy's towns on Sciota and Muskingum—and the inimical

* See Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, Chap. xxxviii.

† Lord Dunmore.

Indians having, for the purpose of fighting them, all moved westward of the Christian Indian towns, it was thought a proper time to conduct the missionary Rothe, with his wife and child, to a place of more safety, while the other missionaries were determined to hold out to the last. Accordingly the former were taken to Pittsburg, from whence they proceeded to Bethlehem ; while those remaining, together with the Christian Indians, were holding themselves in readiness to depart and proceed up the river to Cayahaga, should the Virginian troops be beaten, which however was not the case—for after the battle at or near the great Conhawa, the enemy sued for peace, promising to deliver up all the prisoners in their possession. In the course of the expedition, the Shawanese towns, at Waketamcki, had been destroyed by the white troops ; while the orders given by their commanders, were, not to pass through any of the Christian Indian towns, nor in any manner to disturb those Indians.

On the joyful news of a peace being concluded between the contending parties, the Christian Indians set apart the 6th day of November, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer, which was celebrated with solemnity ; offering up thanks and praises to the Lord, for his gracious protection.

The war being now ended, which, although of short duration, was dreadful in its nature for the time it lasted, the general wish of the Christian Indians was, that a durable peace might follow.

In other respects, this year (1774,) had been remarkable to the Christian Indians; First: the chiefs of the nation, both on the Muskingum, and at Cuschcushke, had unitedly agreed and declared, that the Brethren should have full liberty to preach the gospel to the nation, wherever they chose; and this resolution they also made publicly known. And secondly: these seeing that their friends and relations pursued agriculture, and kept much cattle, they enlarged the tract of land first set apart for them, by moving their people off to a greater distance. And consulting their uncles, the Wyandots, on the subject, (they being the nation from whom the Delawares had originally received the land,) these set apart, granted and confirmed, all that country lying between Tuscorawas, (old town,) and the great bend below Newcomers-town, a distance of upwards of thirty miles on the river, and including the same to the Christian Indians. Two large belts of wampum were on this occasion delivered by the Wyandots, and the chiefs of the Delaware nation, to the Christian Indians, who, in return thanked them for the gift, both verbally and by belts and strings of wampum.

The peace and rest enjoyed by the Indian congregation throughout the year 1775, was favourable to visitors, who came in numbers to hear the gospel preached; so that the chapel at Shonbrun, although large, was too small to contain them. The heathen preacher, Wangomend, had also in this year come on

from Goschgoshink, to see if he could succeed in propagating his foolish doctrines; but the Indian brethren bid him go to their children, and learn of them.

Towards the fall of this year, two valuable, worthy, and exemplary national assistants, departed this life; the one John Papunhank, a Delaware, and the other Joshua, of the Mohican tribe. Both were, at their respective places, wardens of the congregation; the former at Shonbrun, and the latter at Gnadenhutten. Joshua was one of the first Indians baptized by the Brethren in 1742.*

Disputes having arisen between Great Britain and her North American colonies, and a congress being chosen by the latter, it appointed commissioners, to convene the northern and western nations at Pittsburg, for the purpose of explaining the nature of the dispute to them,—and giving them their advice. As none of the missionaries were present at the meetings, which were held in October, and November, the following was the report made by the chiefs, on their return to their respective nations, viz: That the commissioners, after first having informed them that disputes had arisen between the king of England and the people of this country—and that their quarrelling with each other could not

* For sketches of the lives of these truly Christian Indians, see Loskiel's History of the Mission, part iii. pages 108—109, English edition; and German edition, pages 633—634.

affect them in any wise, provided they did not interfere and take a part in it; they next proceeded to state the cause from whence the dispute had originated, calling the same a family dispute, a quarrel between a parent and his child, which they described as follows: "Suppose a father had a little son whom he loved and indulged while young, but growing up to be a youth, began to think of having some help from him; and making up a small pack, he bid him carry it for him. The boy cheerfully takes this pack up, following his father with it. The father finding the boy willing and obedient, continues in this way; and as the boy grows stronger, so the father makes the pack in proportion larger—yet as long as the boy is able to carry the pack, he does so without grumbling. At length however, the boy having arrived at manhood, while the father is making up the pack for him, in comes a person of an evil disposition, and learning who was to be the carrier of the pack, advises the father to make it heavier, for surely the son is able to carry a large pack. The father listening rather to the bad adviser, than consulting his own judgment, and the feelings of tenderness, follows the advice of the hard hearted adviser, and makes up a heavy load for his son to carry. The son, now grown up, examining the weight of the load he is to carry, addresses the parent in these words: 'Dear father, this pack is too heavy for me to carry, do pray lighten it; I am willing to do what I can, but am

unable to carry *this* load.' The father's heart having by this time became hardened—and the bad adviser calling to him, whip him if he disobeys, and refuses to carry the pack, now in a peremptory tone orders his son to take up the pack and carry it off, or he will whip him; and already takes up a stick to beat him. 'So'! says the son, 'am I to be served thus, for not doing what I am unable to do! Well, if entreaties avail nothing with you, father—and it is to be decided by blows, whether or not I am able to carry a pack so heavy, then I have no other choice left me, but that of resisting your unreasonable demand, by my strength; and thus, by striking each other, learn who is the strongest.'" Such (Indian reports stated,) was the parable given them for the purpose of explaining the nature of the dispute.

They further reported, That the commissioners had told them, that as the dispute did not concern them, it would be highly wrong in them, (the American people,) were they to ask the aid of their Indian brethren, in bringing the dispute between them and the parent to a close; for, by so doing, they would be made parties to the quarrel, which might involve them in difficulties and dangers—particularly as it could not be foreseen in whose favour the quarrel would terminate. That were they to ask the assistance of their brethren, the Indians, and they together should fail in gaining what they sought for, they would have to suffer with their white brethren; and

so vice versa the case would be, were they to join the other side. That therefore they would advise them to sit still, until the contest should be over—be friends to both sides, and not take up the hatchet against either. For by taking the hatchet up to strike either side, they must infallibly create to themselves an enemy, who, should it so happen that he became the conqueror, would punish them—take their land from them, &c.—And further: that as, in the course of the war it might happen that their brethren, the Americans, would not have it in their power to supply them with all that they might want—they, not having taken up arms against the British, would consequently be supplied from that side, with such articles as they stood in need of.—That their American brethren sought their welfare; and having land enough of their own, did not wish to deprive them of theirs, but sought to secure their constant friendship as brothers, who had sprung up together from one and the same soil—That they wished to make them a great people, and that they would do so to every nation and people that should take the advice herewith given them; yet that they must tell them, that whatever nation should take up the hatchet and strike them, such nation must abide the consequence, should they, the American people, become conquerors. Lastly, (the reporters added,) that in consequence of the good advice given them by their American brethren, the chiefs of the Delawares, present at this treaty, had for

themselves, and in the name of the whole nation, declared to the commissioners, that they would remain neutral during the "contest between the parent and the son, and not lift up the hatchet against either side."

About this time, while a number of the Senecas* were at Pittsburg, perhaps more for the purpose of learning the disposition of the western nations, but more particularly that of the Delawares, with regard to the side they should take during the contest, they had an opportunity of hearing captain White Eyes deliver his sentiments, openly declaring in favour of the American people and their cause; which so chagrined them, that they thought proper to offer a check to his proceedings, by giving him, in a haughty tone, a hint, intended to remind him what the Delaware nation was in the eyes of the Six Nations, (meaning that it had no will of its own, but was subordinate to the Six Nations); when captain White Eyes, long since tired of this language, with his usual spirit, and an air of disdain, rose and replied; that "he well knew that the Six Nations considered his nation as a conquered people—and their inferiors." "You say (said he) that you had conquered me† that you had cut off my legs—had put a petticoat on

* The Seneca tribe of the Six Nations, is the most warlike among them.

† See Lockiel's History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians, chapter x. and Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, chapter i.

me, giving me a hoe and cornpounder in my hands, saying; 'now woman! your business henceforward shall be, to plant and hoe corn, and pound the same for bread, for us men and warriors!'—Look (continued White Eyes,) at my legs! if, as you say, you had cut cut them off, they have grown again to their proper size!—the petticoat I have thrown away, and have put on my proper dress!—the corn hoe and pounder I have exchanged for these fire arms, and I declare that I am a man!"—Then waving his hand in the direction of the Alleghany river, he exclaimed, "and all the country on the other side of that river is *mine*."*

Perhaps so bold or daring an address was never made, to any council of Indians, by an individual chief. But it ought to be noticed, that White Eyes had here spoken on the strength of what the commissioners had said and promised at the treaty. In what they had said, he placed full confidence. He took it for granted, that the Senecas would join the English against the American people, and therefore lose the land they had so artfully wrested from the Delawares; and, in the firm belief that his nation would keep the peace, he had a right to lay a claim to it. Moreover, his expectation went to this; that should the Six Nations, in consequence of the language he had made use of to them, take up arms against his nation—they being friends of the American people, and at peace

* It must be remarked, that the Indian orators always speak in the singular number, though meaning the nation.

with—them, they would assist them in fighting for their just rights.

The report of captain White Eyes' declaration to the Senecas, having become known to his nation, some feared the consequence of such daring language, to so proud and powerful a body as the Six Nations combined, were, in comparison to them ; while others were satisfied at his proceedings, having long wished to resume their ancient station and character among the Indian nations, so clandestinely wrested from them, by the ancestors of these very people. This circumstance was however the cause of a division among them, in which the Monseys took the lead. They pretended apprehensions, that the Six Nations would resent the liberty White Eyes had taken ; and made this a pretence of withdrawing themselves from the councils of the Turtle tribe, and joining themselves to the Wolf tribe. Nor did the Monsey chief, *Newalike*, rest until he had succeeded in detaching a number of their tribe from the Christian Indians at Schonbrun, who had taken it for granted, that their chief was secretly acquainted with some evil which would befall the Delaware nation, and therefore wished to remove them from danger. They (the Monseys) retiring nearer to Lake Erie, took care to have the Six Nations informed, that they did not approve of what captain White Eyes had said. And captain Pipe,* at the head of his tribe, was glad to see a

* This is the same capt. Pipe, whom col. Bouquet, in 1764, kept as a hostage at Fort Pitt.

breach made, of which White Eyes was to bear the blame. Pipe was an artful, cunning man. Ambitious and fond of power, he endeavoured to create a mistrust in the minds of individuals of the nation—persuading them to believe that their chief (White Eyes,) had entered into secret engagements with the American people, for the purpose of having their young people enslaved, while they (the chiefs) were to reap the benefit thereof, and be lords over them. Pipe's place of residence was on Walhanding, about fifteen miles from Goshochking, (forks of the Muskingum.) Hitherto he had pretty regularly attended the councils at the latter place, but now began to withdraw, probably from a conviction that his intrigues were known, and might one day be held up to him by the chiefs, and he be obliged to render an account of his conduct. The peace chiefs however pursued their usual course—their sole object being the welfare of the nation.

In April, 1776, a third mission settlement was began with eight families, in all thirty-five persons, under their faithful leader, David Zeisberger, and the writer of this narrative, as his assistant. They laid off a town, within two miles of Goshochking, and called it Lichtenau. This place, in particular, had been selected for them by the chiefs themselves, that they, as well as their children, might have an opportunity of hearing the gospel preached; a wish which the

old and principal chief, Netawatwees, had repeatedly informed them of, both by public and private message.

The Christian Indians had, since their first arrival in this country, greatly increased; and although a considerable number had within that time departed this life, yet, at the close of the last year, their number amounted to four hundred and fourteen persons; and at Lichtenau, they were soon joined by new members, viz. the above mentioned chief's son and family, and one of his nephews. The chief from Achsinink, (in English, *solid rock*,) on Hockhocking (place of *bottle shaped gourds*,) called Welapachtschiechen,* otherwise named by the white people, captain Johny, a man much esteemed by all who knew him, whether Indians or whites, likewise came on with his family, and joined the congregation, declining to act in the capacity of a chief in future. Nothing deterred those who believed they had an inward call, from joining the congregation. Nor had the troubles of the times hitherto caused any inconvenience, with regard to their spiritual course. The schools for the children were also, at the three settlements, kept up regularly, in which a new spelling book, the composition of the missionary Zeisberger, had been introduced.

Various were the messages and reports, brought from time to time to the great council of the Delaware nation. One message, said to be sent from the king

* The word signifieth *erect posture*.

of England, purported ; that it was his Majesty's wish and desire, " that all the Indian nations might strictly adhere to the last articles of peace, and remain quiet during the contest between the colonies and the mother country."—Next a message was received from the congress, in Philadelphia, informing the nations that they had appointed an agent with whom they should correspond on affairs regarding the preservation of peace, and not join with either side. Again report stated, that the Six Nations would join the English, against the American people ; and that the Wyandots, and a part of the Shawanose, instigated by the former, would do the same ; but that the Delaware nation were not to be informed of their intentions, until it should be too late for them (as peace-makers,*) to interfere, and prevent the scheme.

Nevertheless, the chief Netawatwes, together with the chiefs White Eyes, Gelelemend, (alias *Killbuck*,) Machingwi Puschiis, (alias the *Big cat*,) and others, did every thing in their power to preserve peace among the nations, by sending embassies, and exhorting them not to take up the hatchet, or to join either side ; to which, however, the Sandusky Wyandots insolently replied : " that they advised their cousins (the Delawares) to keep good shoes in readiness for to join the warriors." This message being returned to them by the Delaware council, with the admoni-

*See Lockiel's History of the Mission, part I. chapter x. ; also, Heckewelder's Historical Account of the Indian Nations, chapter i.

tion, " to sit down and reflect on the misery they had brought upon themselves, by taking an active part in the late war between the English and the French;" they thought proper to send a message to the same purport, also to the chiefs of that nation, (the Wyandots,) living in the vicinity of Detroit, advising that one of these messengers, to be sent with the message, should be selected from among their body. Having accordingly arrived at the Huron village, below Detroit, they were told, that no message from them (the Delaware council,) could belaid before them, except in the presence of the governor. Conscious as to the powers conferred on them, at the time they were, by the Five Nations, made and declared mediators and peacemakers between the nations, they could not even have a doubt as to the legality of the message; yet, scarcely had these deputies produced their peace belts, when the governor laying hold of them, cut them into pieces, and throwing these pieces at the feet of the deputies, commanded them to leave the place within half an hour, or abide the consequences; and captain White Eyes, who had been the principal bearer of the message, was, after being first insulted, told, " that if he sat any value on his head, he must begone instantly."*

Note. It not being the design of the writer of this narrative, here to discuss the propriety or impropriety of the conduct of the governor to these messengers, he refers the reader to Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, chapter xxi. headed " Peace Messengers."

*See Lockiel's History, Part III. chapter vi.

In consequence of this insult to the nation, (for the chiefs and council considered it in no other light,) they went to Pittsburg to lay the case before their agent, for the information of congress, who advised them, together with all peaceably disposed Indians, to come under their protection; but, as sad experience had taught them, by the murder of the Canestoga Indians in the very town of Lancaster, and the narrow escape of the Christian Indians in the city of Philadelphia, from being murdered by the Paxton boys, no chief would venture to make this proposal known to his people. As to the safety of the missionaries, government had advised them, through their agent, to take refuge at Pittsburg; but they chose rather to suffer whatever might befall them, than desert a people committed to their care, and especially when they were most in want of advice and consolation.

Although, by reports, all without the circle of the peaceable Delawares, was bustle and confusion, on account of the different opinions which prevailed amongst the chiefs; yet no warrior had made his appearance among their people. All the traders of respectability had quitted the country, partly from fear, or by the advice of government. On the 12th of November, the Christian Indians were surprised to see Matthew Elliot, a man known for many years as a trader, now enter their town, with a number of horseloads of merchandize, a female Indian companion, and a hired man, then on his way to the

Shawanese towns, on the Sciota. Nothing was more unexpected, than an attempt of the kind at this time; and nothing could be more unpleasant and disagreeable to the missionaries and Christian Indians, than to be placed in the situation they now were, by Elliot's making a halt with them, as they might reasonably suppose, that should any of the Sandusky warriors find out that he was here, they might come, seize on his property, and perhaps murder him in the town; all which was frequently represented to him (Elliot) without effect. At length, tired of such remonstrances, he resolved to leave us on the next day, observing, however, that, "in case our fears had been realized, it would have been the duty of the Christian Indians to have protected him." He now moved on to the old Wakelameki towns, a place which had long been deserted by the Shawanese—from whence he intended to proceed to the Sciota. The very next morning after he left the place, six Sandusky warriors were observed in the street, eagerly looking about to discover the house the traders might be lodged at; stating that white people had come out from Pittsburg, and must be somewhere in the neighbourhood, which they had discovered by the tracks of shodden horses, while crossing the path to go to the Ohio. Being told by the inhabitants, that the people they, sought for were not here, they, to convince themselves of this, searched every house in the village; when discovering, by the tracks of Elliott's

horses, the way they had gone, they followed them. It being evident, that as Elliot could not effect his escape—and probably, when taken, both he and his man might be put to death, the national assistants, from pure motives of humanity, dispatched two active men, with a speech and string of wampum after them, praying that they might spare their lives. The speed the warriors had made in the pursuit, was such, that when the two Christian Indians came up with them, both Elliot and his man, Michael Herbert, were already bound, and they dividing the spoil among themselves. The Brethren having delivered the message intrusted to them, were in reply told by the warriors, "that they ought not to interfere in their business, no more than they (the warriors,) did with theirs. That *they* followed the profession of war, when wars existed; whereas, they had adopted the religion of the white people, and given themselves up to praying!—That they were sorry they had put themselves to so much trouble, on account of a man who did not belong to them; yet, since they appeared so much interested for him, and his safety, they could assure them, that neither he nor his fellow prisoner should be hurt; and for the trouble they had put themselves to, on his account, they would satisfy them out of the goods they had taken with him," which however they declined to recieve; saying, "that they would not participate in a robbery."

Col. George Morgan* of Princeton, New Jersey, who, in the preceding year, had been appointed by Congress, agent for the western Indians, having occasion to come to their country on business with the chiefs and council, visited the three Christian Indian settlements, and expressed himself both astonished and delighted, in observing such order, regularity and industry, at these places; wishing that all the Indians might be brought to follow their example. William Edwards, having come from Bethlehem as an assistant to the mission, the writer of this narrative returned to Shonbrun, to attend to the schools at that place.

With the year 1777, the troubles increased: a part of the Shawanese resolved to join the English in the war, although their chief still advised them to remain at peace. The murder committed by the whites at Canhawa, on their so much beloved and respected chief, the *Cornstalk*, while he was there on important business, could not so easily be forgotten. The Indians, in this instance, were at a loss to determine on whom the blame was to be laid; whether on the perpetrators of the act, or on their superiors, for not using their authority in preventing it. Their accusations against the white people of the place, were the more severe, as they had known the friendly dis-

* To this gentleman, the Delawares had given the name of Tamanend: the highest honour they could confer. See Heckewelder's Account of Indian Nations, chap. xl. p. 298.

position of their chief towards them, and the important errand he had been on at the time.

Accounts were also received, at the seat of the Delaware government, that the Sandusky and Lake Indians were preparing to go to war in the spring; and that they threatened to kill every white man residing among the Indians, who should not side with their father, the English; and next, every Indian that would not join in the war; which threats were well understood to be levelled against the missionaries and the Christian Indians, as also against all those who were inclined to peace. Yet, during all these commotions, the chiefs of the Delawares remained firm; and resolved not to interfere in the war between England and the colonies.

The line of conduct the Christian Indians and their missionaries were to follow, during the contest, was plainly marked out to them, viz: They were subjected to the resolutions and decrees of those who had invited them to come into their country, with the promise of protection from their side: these alone had power over them;—and these had formerly declared, that they would keep the peace at all hazards. Added to this, an impression had for many years rested on the minds of the national assistants, that for Indian converts to join in wars, would infallibly bring them back into heathenism;—That God having given the commandment to his people, "Thou shalt not kill;" it must be a great sin for such, unto whom this

commandment was known, to murder men. Such was the argument and impression on the minds of the national assistants and Christian Indians ; and they were determined to put out of their fellowships, any, and every person, who should join in wars, and not permit such to make a home with them.

The Delaware chiefs, having at this time in their possession, documents and vouchers, both in writing and strings and belts of wampum, of all transactions that had passed between their ancestors and the government of Pennsylvania, from the time William Penn first arrived in the country, down to the present time ; had hitherto been in the habit of meeting, at least once in every year, for the purpose of refreshing their missionaries on the subject, by hearing the contents ; as also, that of instructing one or more promising young men to learn by heart such valuable documents, that they might not be lost to future generations. In assembling for this purpose, they chose to be by themselves in the woods, at a convenient spot, where no person could interrupt them ; and when any written documents were produced, they would request one or the other of the missionaries to attend, to read and interpret them—which service the missionaries always considered as their duty, and as an acknowledgement for their indulgence in favouring the cause of the mission. Now when, with the times, a change had taken place in the appointment of officers, with whom of course the chiefs would have intercourse—they not being ac-

quainted with the hieroglyphical manner the Indians expressed themselves, could not without assistance understand the contents of their speeches; wherefore a missionary was called upon, and requested to explain, in writing, the meaning of these dark, yet withal not unmeaning expressions, for to send on to such officers or agents, with the figurative speech. The enemies of peace being informed of those services, believed they had cause to charge the missionaries as being accessary in keeping the Delaware nation from joining in the war against the American people, or, in other words, that they were acting contrary to the British interest; although it was doing no more than what any person in their situation would consider his duty to do, nay it was an act which they could not avoid performing.

The principal Delaware chief, Netawatwees, who had died at Pittsburg about the close of the last year, having on his death-bed declared, as his last will, that the gospel should be preached by the Brethren to his nation, captain White Eyes, on the occasion, took a bible, and some of the newly published school books, compiled by Zeisberger, in his hands, and addressing himself in a very affecting manner to the council, concluded in these words; "You have heard the last will and testament of our beloved, departed chief: We will pray to the Lord to have mercy on us, and reveal his will, as herein written, to all now living, and to our children's children, yet unborn!"

The Wyandots having early in the spring of this year began to commit ravages and murders on the frontier settlers, the Delaware council became alarmed, and concerned for the safety of the missionaries at Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun ; though they, at the time, were not under any apprehension of danger. The Wyandots being questioned by the Delaware chiefs, what cause they had for taking up arms against their American brethren, pleaded, in excuse, that they had been compelled thereto by their father, the British; and that the Iroquois, (Six Nations,) together with all the northern and western nations, had united to fight the American people ; adding, that as all these had joined for this purpose, they thought it time for them (the Delawares) also to join their party, or at least to declare what side they favoured. They promptly declared that they would remain neutral, and keep the peace. It struck them so, that on their return they told the governor of Detroit, that if he continued in this way, urging the Indians to go to war, while he himself remained quiet at home, they would throw down the war belt at his feet, which he had given them, and would go and renew their friendship with the Delawares, and also enter into a covenant with the Americans ; who had, from the beginning, advised the nations to sit still, and take no part in the war,—and who, at this time, still held forth the same language to them.

The governor and chiefs of the Hurons, not being

able to comprehend what could induce the Delaware nation to be so firm in maintaining peace, it was ascribed to the influence the missionaries had in the council of the nations : and it soon after appeared that schemes were laid for the purpose of seizing the missionaries, and bringing them to Detroit.

The northern warriors being continually on the watch, for such white people who might venture out to the Delaware towns, it was dangerous for any one to attempt such a thing. Yet it so happened, that Mr. James O'Harra,* who had come out to Shonbrun on business, was found out by some of these warriors, eleven of whom were coming on to seize him ; but halting on their way, at an Indian cabin, nine miles distant, where the man and his sons, were equally friends to the Americans, the old man discovering their intentions, privately sent off in the night one of his sons to the writer of this narrative, with the following verbal message : My friend ! see that our white friend, now at your village, be taken from thence this night, and conducted to a place of safety, in the settlement of the white people ; and do not neglect to act up to my message. Hear my son farther on the subject !"—The son giving the best assurance, that at break of day the party would be here, for the purpose of taking, and perhaps murdering Mr. O'Harra, he was informed of it, and forthwith

* Since, General O'Harra, now living at Pittsburg.

conducted by Anthony* a smart and trusty Indian, through the woods to the Ohio river, and there taken across by white people, living on the opposite shore. The young man, who had, agreeable to his father's instructions, immediately returned home, after delivering the message to me, seeing them sometime after midnight preparing to set off, for the purpose of executing their design, questioned them as to their intentions and finding that the supposition had been correct, he replied, " your errand will fail, for the white man you are after, is no more there, but has returned to Pittsburg. On being assured of this, they bent their course another way.

Within a fortnight after the above had taken place, reports in succession were brought to Shonbrun, that large parties were on their way to murder the missionaries; and the fear of many of the Christian Indians at this place was so great, that they could not content themselves, unless they had placed them out of all danger. The missionaries, although unwilling to go, and not believing the danger so great as represented, yet had to submit, and were in the night taken to Gnadenhutten, from whence however the writer of this returned again in the morning, and there finding the Monsey chief, *Newalike*, from Sandusky, pressing those of his tribe to leave the place, and save themselves, since " all living here would soon be

* This Anthony, is the same man noticed in Heckewelder's Account of the Indian Nations, chapter xx. bearing then the name of Luke Holland.

murdered, if they remained in the parts ;" he thought it his duty to inform the senior missionary, Zeisberger, at Lichtenau, thirty miles distant, of the mischief that was intended by the Monsey chief, and others from Sandusky. The missionary, without delay having come on, and finding matters worse than he had expected, made known in a public meeting, that the place would be evacuated ; inviting, at the same time, all such as had a desire to cleave to the Lord, and rely on his help, to get ready to follow their teachers : a last discourse was delivered, and concluded by a fervent prayer. Next the chapel was pulled down, that it might not be made use of for heathenish purposes ; and the congregation left the place the same day.

Shonbrun had been the largest and handsomest town the Christian Indians had hitherto built ; containing upwards of sixty dwelling houses, most of which were of squared timbers. The street, from east to west, was long, and of a proper width ; from the centre, where the chapel stood, another street run off to the north. The inhabitants had, for the greatest part, become husbandmen. They had large fields under good rail fences, well pailed gardens, and fine fruit trees ; besides herds of cattle, horses and hogs.

The troubles rapidly increasing, and the nation which had invited the Brethren (their teachers) into the country being now much concerned for their safety, lest they should be molested, and the blame laid upon

them, thought proper to consult their agent *Tamenend*, (col. George Morgan,) at Pittsburg, on the subject, and take his advice, which was: "That they should keep and protect these teachers from being molested, they being sent by God to them." They therefore once more made known to the nations, that they intended to preserve their neutrality: having received the word of God, and taken their white teachers under their protection. This message being sent in April, 1777, to the Wyandots at Sandusky, by deputies selected from among the chiefs themselves, accompanied by two Indian brethren, from Lichtenau, and having been well received, was also forwarded to the governor at Detroit, for his approbation; when, in June following, the answer returned, was in the following words: "That they (the Delawares) should consider the missionaries as an invaluable treasure, on account of the good they done among the Indians —being the promoters of both their temporal and spiritual welfare; they therefore should deem themselves fortunate in protecting these missionaries, and by no means part with them!"

In the summer, the American people renewed their attempts to incline the nations to peace, by holding conferences with them; they had also appointed a treaty to be held at Goschoshking, where the surrounding nations were to assemble; but the Wyandots, under the influence of the British, used their endeavours to defeat their object, and a great body of

them set out at the very time, for the purpose of murdering the people on the frontiers.

Towards the end of July, a treaty was proposed to be held at Pittsburg, with the Senecas; but this treaty was also frustrated, on account of a party of Americans having fired on a body of Senecas, who were coming on to the treaty, and who thereby became enraged at the white people, considering them as traitors, and threatening them with revenge.

Shortly after this, an embassy of twenty Wyandots arrived at Goschoshking, offering the war belt to the Delawares, three times successively, and demanding of them that they should join in the war against the American people, all other nations having united to fight them; but the Delawares stood firm, refused to accept the belt, and resolved to be at peace, both with the Americans and the English; and, in answer, sent a message to the half king of the Wyandots, to remind him, "that at the treaty of peace concluded at the close of the last war, they had come to an agreement, and faithfully promised not to make war any more upon the white people, as long as the sun should shine, and the rivers flow with water—That they, the Delawares, had engaged to hold the chain of friendship with *both* their hands, and therefore had no spare hand to take hold of a war belt." As the Wyandot ambassadors returned home much dissatisfied with this answer, it appeared very probable that the nations might soon become outrageous, and commit

acts of hostility on the Delaware nation generally; and the danger visibly increasing from day to day, it was considered advisable, while it was still practicable, to remove those missionaries who had families, to a place of safety. Accordingly the missionaries Schmick and Youngman, with their wives, were safely conducted to Pittsburg, from whence they proceeded to Bethlehem.

On the next day, intelligence was received that two hundred Wyandot warriors, headed by the half king in person, were on their way to Lichtenau. This intelligence was alarming to all; but as a means of temporising with those savages on their arrival, it was resolved to give them a kind reception, and feed them well; which it was supposed might answer the good purpose of saving the lives of the white teachers among them. The party arrived, on the 8th day of August, at Goshoshking, the seat of government, which was two miles distant from Lichtenau, from which latter place the Christian Indians took provisions for them, and addressing them in a very friendly speech, not omitting flattery, and making use of several strings of wampum, the half king replied: "that the words spoken to him by his cousins, had penetrated into his heart, and that he would consult his war captains on the subject;" which being done, he delivered himself favourably in behalf of the Christian Indians and their teachers, admonishing the former, "to listen to the latter, and obey them—to attend to their wor-

ship, and not meddle with affairs which do not concern them, and they need not be afraid that any harm would be done them."

The Christian Indians, however, not trusting to the fair speeches of this chief, (his intrigues being well known to them,) had appointed a runner, who was to place himself at the door of the council house, ready to set off the moment he discovered ill intentions against the inhabitants of the place, when the whole congregation might embark in their canoes, which were kept in readiness, to pass down the river Muskingum. However, all ending well, the half king, with his chief captains, and eighty-two of his warriors, came to Lichtenau, and meeting with the missionaries Zeisberger and Edwards, he shook hands with them, addressing them "*Father*," to which they made a proper reply. The half king next sent messengers to Detroit, and to the chiefs of the Wyandots, near that place, to inform them of the covenant made by him with the Christian Indians, and that he and his warriors had acknowledged the white brethren (the missionaries) to be their fathers ; and henceforth would consider them as such.

The two congregations, Lichtenau and Gnadenhutten, about twenty-seven miles asunder, had now each only one missionary left, and the prospect before them was that of a succession of external troubles. These two Brethren had, however, made a covenant to re-

main with their people, and preferred suffering death, rather than deserting their posts.

From the time that the half king had declared the Brethren as a useful people among his cousins, the Delawares, and had assured them of his protection, he had kept a watchful eye over them; and although himself and his nation were intent on fighting against the American people, yet they avoided as much as possible coming near the settlements of the Christian Indians, he frequently inquiring of them how his people conducted themselves, when passing that way.

Providing food for so many warriors at a time, was a very disagreeable business for the inhabitants of Lichtenau, yet it could not be avoided, especially with the more northern Indians, who were both noisy and mischievous, if not served with food. Upon the whole, the quickest way to get rid of all warriors, is to give them a meals victuals, which is all they want, and to refuse them this would be folly, as then they would shoot cattle, and destroy the corn in the fields.

The missionaries and Christian Indians were not without fears, that ill disposed persons on the American side might construe such acts, (unavoidable as they were,) as furnishing the warriors with provision for carrying on the war expeditions against them; nor were they mistaken in the supposition, as by some, the Christian Indians had been branded with the name of enemies to the American people, on that very ac-

count. The subjoined facts however will, it is hoped, exonerate the Christian Indians of charges of this kind.

First. It is a settled point with Indian *warriors*, that where begging or asking for provisions, is not complied with, or refused to them, they may make free to take; and where they do take, they destroy purposely, because the person who refuses to give them the provisions, appears in *their* eyes devoid of hospitality,* and consequently devoid of feeling: an *inhuman* being.

Secondly. No Indian warrior encumbers himself with provisions, on going out against the enemy, or to war: a few quarts of parched corn, finely pounded, with a little sugar mixed therewith, will serve an Indian for many days, and this is always prepared for them at home, previous to their setting out; and knowing that wherever they are, they can get meat with their guns, they take but little along with them.

Thirdly. Warriors are not always permitted to satisfy their appetites, nor even to eat every kind of food. They have to regulate themselves by a prescription given them by their captain, who has either received it from an old veteran, or from a conjurer; even sometimes fasting is recommended; and much (they say) depends on their success in living up to the directions prescribed them.

* See Heckewelder's History.

Fourthly. It is always supposed by them, that when they arrive in the settlements of the white people, they will find provision, so as to satisfy their wants.

Now, what is the demand of the warrior on arriving at an Indian town on his way? Nothing but a meals victuals, if he should make a halt, which however is seldom the case, and never, except he has some particular business, or a speech to deliver to the inhabitants of the place he has arrived at. A few ears of Indian corn, a pumpkin, or a few squashes given him, not only prevents his doing mischief, as shooting down cattle and the like, but what is of greater consequence, that it gives you the liberty of feeding their half-starved prisoners, when on the return; nay more, your hospitality to them, is, in the eye of the warrior, of such consequence, that at the supplication of the women, prisoners have not only been protected against insults and blows, but have sometimes even been liberated, and again restored to their connexions.

In the autumn of this year (1777,) a report was circulated throughout the Indian country, that an American general, hostile to all Indians, had taken the command at Pittsburg, and was already on his march to Goshochking. On this report, Pipe's party were on the alert; he having declared that he would join the Wyandots in repelling them. Consternation and fear had such an effect on many, that they fled

across the river into the woods; while others, though disbelieving the report, had to go with the rest, to avoid suspicion. Thus were the towns of Goshochking and Lichtenau, evacuated for one night, when in the morning they returned to their respective homes again, on the report being found to have been false. A similar report had nearly put them to flight a second time, when fortunately an Indian messenger arrived with friendly speeches, both from the commandant and Indian agent, col. George Morgan, at Pittsburg, assuring the Delawares, that they had nothing to fear from their side.

However, in the beginning of October, a party of freebooters from the Ohio settlements, in defiance of the commandant's endeavours to restrain them from it, crossed the Ohio, with intentions to destroy the peaceable Delaware settlements on the Muskingum; being however timely discovered by a party of Wyandots, headed by the half king, they were attacked and totally defeated.*

This affair having taken place so shortly after peace messages had been received from Pittsburg, caused some consternation among many of the Delawares; and it was scarcely possible for the peaceable chiefs to set the minds of their people at ease, and to convince them that there was no real danger. Indeed those of Pipe's party declared that they would hold

* See Lockiel, Part iii. chap. vii.

themselves in readiness to meet any white people who should be found coming out to murder their women and children.

Zeisberger having the welfare of the nation, and the safety of the Christian Indians, much at heart, now sent a serious remonstrance to the council of the Delawares, positively declaring that the Christian Indians would forsake the country, as soon as the nation should go to war; which declaration had such an effect, that the chiefs from all places assembled to a general council, when on the 31st of October, the firm resolution was taken, to preserve the peace and neutrality without exception, and at all hazards.

Notwithstanding the external troubles which the Christian Indians endured throughout this year, internally they were in the full enjoyment of the blessings and comforts that so abundantly flow to those who fear the Lord, and walk in his ways. The daily meetings were kept in their usual order, being attended more or less by the neighbouring Delawares, of whom some felt the power of the gospel on their hearts, and were at their request admitted as members of the congregation.

Early in the spring of 1778, the Wyandots and Mingoes (Iroquois) began to commit hostilities against the American people, attacking, plundering, and murdering them on their plantations; and on returning, would sometimes purposely pass with their prisoners and scalps, through the peaceable Delaware Indian set-

tlement, in order to irritate or disturb the inhabitants, or if possible to draw the enemy, while in pursuit, on them, taking such to be the aggressors.—Yet on all occasions where they made a halt with their prisoners, the women of the village would take provision to the prisoners, and stand by them until they had satisfied their hunger.

At one time, in this spring, a party of Shawanos were discovered resting with their prisoners (an old man and two youths,) at a spring about two miles distant from Lichtenau. The women of the town immediately collected provision, went and fed the poor half starved creatures, and being particularly moved with compassion for the old man, they made an attempt to ransom him, but in this instance did not succeed, being told that his destination had already been fixed on. However Providence had decreed otherwise, for after some time, when they were on Sciota, deliberating on the time and manner of putting him to death, a prisoner girl, who had over heard them, took a bridle to him bidding him to hasten to a certain spot in the woods, where he would meet with horses, one of which he should mount and ride off. The man did so, and although discovered and pursued, he escaped, and was accidently found by two boys in the woods, eight miles from Lichtenau, ten days after he had first started. The boys who found him, reported the man as no longer able to walk, and his horse quite worn down. Of course this man was brought in by the hospitable

and sympathising Christian Indians, well taken care of, and after having gained sufficient strength, taken to Pittsburg. On his being brought to the missionaries' house, he fell on his knees, exclaiming: "Merciful God! be praised that thou hast brought me, a wretched creature, to a Christian people! If it be thy will that I shall die in this place, be it so, I am happy and contented!"

While this poor man was on his flight, and quite lost in the woods, he accidentally had fell in with a Delaware Indian, who in hunting, having caught a large fish, which he had just roasted for himself, he immediately gave it to this half starved white man to eat, and besides, took him some miles distance through the woods, to put him on the path, the man being lost.

The chiefs and council of Goshochking, as the protectors of the Christian Indians, would frequently consult the missionaries on matters necessary for the preservation of peace. They had repeatedly declared that nothing should withdraw their confidence from their American brethren; who, together with them, had sprung up from the same soil.—That their brethren had told them, at the treaty at Pittsburg, not to join either side with a hostile intention—not to go to war against the English, no more than against them, and which language their American brethren still held forth to them, while on the other hand the English, who called themselves their fathers, were con-

tinually teazing them to take up the hatchet, and kill the Americans, their brethren."—They (the chiefs and council) called now again on the Christian Indians, to go hand in hand with them towards peace measures, and in saving lives, not in destroying them; adding, "you Christians are in possession of the great book; (the bible) do therefore in all matters as that book tells you!"

Until of late, the missionaries would not give credit to any reports, (and many there were from time to time,) which stated, "that the governor of Detroit was determined to compel all the Indians, be they who they might, the Christian Indians not excepted, to turn out and fight the American people, (or rebels, as he termed them,) and that he would even punish all such as did not obey his orders;" but they were sorry to see by a letter, which bore the signature of the governor, that not only what they had heard on the subject proved to be true, but that, if the threats contained in his letter were carried into execution, all missions amongst the Indians would at once be at an end. This letter was of such a nature, that the missionary Zeisberger, after perusal, thought proper to commit it at once to the flames, and fervently to pray to Almighty God, to avert such disasters from his people. One hope however remained, which was, that the letter, though having the signature of the governor, perhaps might be a forged one, and

written by one of the agents or subalterns in the Indian country.

Added to the above, an occurrence had taken place, which, of itself, was enough to break the hearts of the missionaries, and especially that of the faithful and pious servant of God, David Zeisberger. It was the unexpected arrival at Goschochking, of a number of disaffected persons from Pittsburg, led on by Alexander M'Kee, Matthew Elliot, and Simon Girty, all three, very suspicious and dangerous characters: the first of whom had been an Indian agent of the British government, but permitted by the United States to go at large, on parole.—The second was the same person who, as noticed before, came into Lichtenau, in 1776, with a cargo of goods, and was taken prisoner at Waketameki, and subsequently brought to Detroit; and had afterwards been heard to boast of the clandestine manner in which he had procured his liberation from the British, though at the same time he had a British captain's commission in his pocket. The third, Simon Girty, was a depraved wretch, who formerly had been employed as an Indian interpreter. These men, well known to the Indian nations, had, wherever they passed through Indian villages, but particularly at Goshochking, propagated abominable falsehoods respecting the war, and the situation the people were in beyond the mountains, (in the Atlantic States); adding: "That it was the determination of the American people, to kill and destroy the

whole Indian race, be they friends or foes, and possess themselves of their country; and that, at this time, while they were embodying themselves for the purpose, they were preparing fine sounding speeches to deceive them, that they might with the more safety fall upon and murder them. That now was the time, and the only time, for all nations to rise, and turn out to a man against these intruders, and not even suffer them to cross the Ohio, but fall upon them where they should find them; which if not done without delay, their country would be lost to them forever!"

The consternation caused among the Delawares on hearing these reports, was, as might be expected, very great, although captain White Eyes, and other chiefs would not give credit to reports of this kind, especially coming from such characters; yet, as the nation had been roused to commence war immediately against the people of the United States, and he (White Eyes) well knew that his conduct in this affair would be closely watched by his rival, captain Pipe, on the Walhanding, he called a general council of the nation, in which he proposed to delay committing hostilities against the American people for ten days, during which time they might obtain more certain information as to the truth of the assertions of these men; either, from Tamenend (col. Morgan,) or col. Gibson, or some other friend of theirs, who would give them notice. Pipe,

considering this a proper time for placing White Eyes in the back ground, construed this wise and prudent advice of his, as though he was in the secret, and now proposed to his own council, "to declare every man an enemy to the nation, that should throw an obstacle in the way, that might tend to prevent the taking up arms immediatley against the American people." White Eyes, seeing the blow aimed against himself, once more assembled his men, and told them: "That if they meant in earnest to go out, (as he observed some of them were preparing to do,) they should not go without him. He had taken peace measures, in order to save the nation from utter destruction. But if they believed that he was in the wrong, and gave more credit to vagabond fugitives, whom he knew to be such, than to himself, who was best acquainted with the real state of things,—if they had determined to follow their advice, and go out against the Americans, he would go out with them; but not like the bear hunter, who sets the dogs on the animal to be beaten about with his paws, while he keeps at a safe distance*—no! he would himself lead them on, place himself in the front, and be the *first* who should fall. They only had to determine on what they meant to do, for his own mind was fully made up not to survive his nation; and he would not spend the remainder of a miserable life, in bewailing

* Here the blow aimed by capt. Pipe, at capt. White Eyes, reverts back on Pipe.

the total destruction of a brave people, who deserved a better fate."*

This spirited address of White Eyes had the desired effect: all declared that they would wait until the ten days were expired, and many added, that they never would go to war against the American people, unless they had him for their leader.

It so happened that the Brethren in Bethlehem, towards the latter end of February, of this year, (1778,) feeling an uncommon anxiety for the fate of the missionaries and Christian Indians on Muskingum, they not having received a letter, or obtained any account of them for the last six months, they applied to the writer of this narrative, who in the last summer had come to Bethlehem on a visit, to proceed to Pittsburg for the purpose; and if, when there, it was believed to be practicable and safe, even to repair to his post at Lichtenau, to which he readily agreed: brother John Shabosh, who had been prevented from returning to his family at Gnadenhutten, since August last, would cheerfully accompany him.

Some circumstances at that time making it necessary for us to be furnished with a passport from the highest authority, we waited on the president of congress, Henry Laurens, esq. and also on the secretary

* In Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, chap. xv. p. 139—140, the remarkable part of White Eye's address, where he quotes a bear chase, was accidentally omitted: this narrative not being in his hands at the time.

of war, Horatio Gates, who at that time were at Yorktown, Pennsylvania, both which gentlemen spoke very highly of the laudable undertaking the Brethren were engaged in, of propagating the gospel among the Indians, for the purpose of bringing them to embrace Christianity and become a civilized people; assuring us, that nothing should be wanting on their part in lending aid, whenever in their power, towards such a good work, and in granting us protection when required; adding, "that it had been the wish of congress, from the beginning of the war between Great Britain and the colonies, that the Indian nations could be brought to see it their interest to remain neutral during the contest, and not join either side, as the only way for them to escape being censured and hurt by either, and finally become a happy people, and united with the white Christians."

Being supplied with a passport to Pittsburg, we pursued our journey, meeting with no difficulties by the way, to that place, except the sight of so many deserted houses along the glades, on the doors of which was written, either with chalk or coal, "good people, avoid this road, for the Indians are out murdering us;" and again, as we drew nearer to Pittsburg, the unfavourable account of the elopement of M'Kee, Elliot, Girty, and others, from the latter place to the Indian country, for the purpose of instigating the Indians to murder, as was generally expected. Indeed the gloomy countenances of all men,

women and children, that we passed, bespoke fear—nay, some families even spoke of leaving their farms and moving off.

Far greater was the consternation of the people at Pittsburg, and especially that of the commandant of the place, col. Edward Hand, and col. John Gibson; on whom all eyes were fixed with regard to future safety. Of those men who had eloped but a few days since, the worst might reasonably be expected: their disaffection to the United States—their disposition to act hostile—the influence they would have over the minds, at least of many of the poor Indians, and the means they would have at command for the purpose of enforcing their evil designs, might be calculated on with certainty. In vain had the commandant sought for a trusty runner, to carry out pacific speeches to the peaceable Delawares: the risk of going out at a time when it was known that the war parties were out, and probably every path beset by them, being thought too great. Even the above named gentlemen, with many others of the place, however anxious they were that something might be done to prevent the Delawares from being deceived, would not venture to advise us to go at this time; declaring that if we should go, and escape, it must be considered a miracle.

However, the matter appearing to us of the greatest importance, we had given it a due consideration during the night; the result of which was, that in our

view it appeared clear, that the preservation of the Delaware nation, and the existence of our misison, depended on the nation being at peace, and that a contrary course would tend to the total ruin of the whole mission;—that were we at this time to neglect, or withdraw ourselves from performing a service, nay a duty, in exposing the vile intentions of a depraved set of beings, whose evil designs were but too well known, we must become accountable to our God. Therefore, with entire reliance on the strong hand of Providence, we determined to go at the hazard of our lives, or at least make the attempt.

Accordingly in the morning we made our resolution known to cols. Hand and Gibson, whose best wishes for our success, we were assured of; and leaving our baggage behind, and turning a deaf ear to all entreaties of well meaning friends, who considered us as lost, if we went, we crossed the Alleghany river, and on the third day, at eleven o'clock at night, reached Gnadenhutten, after having at several times narrowly escaped falling in with war parties; and indeed, in one instance, while encamped on the Big Beaver, near the mouth, where a party of warriors on that night were murdering people on Rackoon creek, not many miles distant from where we were, though at that time not known to us. We had travelled day and night, only leaving our horses time to feed; crossed the Big Beaver, which overflowed its banks, on a

raft we had made of poles, other large creeks on the way we swam with our horses, and never attempted to kindle a fire, apprehensive of being discovered by the warriors smelling the smoke.

When arrived within a few miles of Gnadenhutten, we distinctly heard the beat of a drum, and on drawing near, the war song sung to the beat of the drum, all which being in the direction the town lay, we naturally concluded that the Christian Indians must have moved off, wherefore we proceeded with caution, lest we should fall into the worrior's hands. However, the people being yet there, informed us, that those warriors we had heard, were Wyandots from Sandusky, who arrived that evening, and were encamped on the Bluff, two miles below the town, on the opposite side of the river, and who probably would the next morning, travel along the path we had just come.

Fatigued as we were, after our journey, and without one hour of sound sleep, I was now reqested by the inhabitants of the place, men and women, not to delay any time, but to proceed on to Goschochking (near thirty miles distant,) where all was bustle and confusion, and many preparing to go off to fight the American people, in consequence of the advice given them by those deserters, before named, who had told them, that the American people were embodying themselves at this time, for the purpose of killing every Indian they should meet with, be such, friend or foe, and further we were told, that

captain White Eyes had been threatened to be killed if he persisted in vindicating the character of the American people; many believing the stories told them by M'Kee and his associates, and had in consequence already shaved their heads, ready to lay the plume* on, and turn out to war, as soon as the ten days which White Eyes had desired them to wait should be expired, and to-morrow being the ninth day, and no message having yet arrived from their friends at Pittsburg, they now were preparing to go—and further, that this place, Gnadenhutten, was now breaking up for its inhabitants to join the congregation at Lichtenau, those deserters having assured them, that they were not a day safe from an attack by the Americans, while they remained here.

Finding the matter so *very* pressing, and even not admitting of a day's delay, I consented, that after a few hours rest and sleep, and furnished with a trusty companion and fresh horse, I would proceed on, when between three and four o'clock in the morning, the national assistant, John Martin, having called on me for the purpose, we set out, swimming our horses across the Muskingum river, and taking a circuit through the woods in order to avoid the encampment

* This plume distinguishes the warior, and is only laid on when he is going out to war, *that* tuft of hair on their heads, termed the scalp, being daubed over with tallow, the *white* plume from the head of the eagle, is stuck on, they say that this confers the courage of that bird on them. *Long* feathers are only made use of as an ornament.

of the war party which was close to our path. Arriving by ten o'clock in the forenoon within sight of the town, a few yells were given by a person who had discovered us, intended to notify the inhabitants, that a white man was coming, and which immediately drew the whole body of Indians into the street; but although I saluted them in passing them, not a single person returned the compliment, which, as my conductor observed, was no good omen. Even captain White Eyes, and the other chiefs, who always had befriended me, now stepped back when I reached out my hand to them, which strange conduct however did not dismay me, as I observed among the crowd some men well known to me as spies of captain Pipe's, watching the actions of these peace chiefs, wherefore I was satisfied that the act of refusing me the hand, had been done from policy, and not from any ill will towards my person. Indeed in looking around, I thought I could read joy in the countenances of many of them, in seeing me among them at so critical a juncture, when they, but a few days before had been told by those deserters, that nothing short of their total destruction, had been resolved upon by the "long knives" (the Virginians, or *new* American people). Yet as no one would reach out his hand to me, I inquired into the cause, when captain White Eyes boldly stepping forward, replied; "that by what had been told them by those men (M'Kee and party) they no longer had a single friend among the Ameri-

can people; if therefore this be so, they must consider *every* white man who came to them from that side, as an enemy, who only came to them to decieve them, and put them off their guard for the purpose of giving the enemy an opportunity of taking them by surprise." I replied, that the imputation was unfounded, and that, were I not their friend, they never would have seen me here. "Then, (continued captain White Eyes) you will tell us the truth with regard to what I state to you!"—assuring him of this, he in a strong tone asked me: "are the American armies all cut to pieces by the English troops? Is general Washington killed? Is there no more a congress, and have the English hung some of them, and taken the remainder to England to hang them there? Is the whole country beyond the mountains in the possession of the English; and are the few thousand Americans who have escaped them, now embodying themselves on this side of the mountains for the purpose of killing all the Indians in this country, even our women and children? Now do not deceive us, but speak the truth" (added he); "is this all true what I have said to you?" I declared before the whole assembly, that not one word of what he had just now told me was true, and holding out to him, as I had done before, the friendly speeches sent by me for them, which he however as yet refused to accept, I thought by the countenances of most of the by standers, that I could perceive that the moment bid fair

for their listening at least to the contents of those speeches, and accidentally catching the eye of the drummer, I called to him to beat the drum for the Assembly to meet for the purpose of hearing what their American Brethren had to say to them! A general smile having taken place, White Eyes thought the favourable moment arrived to put the question, and having addressed the assembly in these words: "shall we my friends and relatives listen once more to those who call us their brethren?" which question being loudly and as with one voice answered in the affirmative, the drum was beat, and the whole body quickly repairing to the spacious council house; the speeches, all of which were of the most pacific nature were read and interpreted to them, when captain White Eyes rose, and in an elaborate address to the assembly, took particular notice of the good disposition of the American people towards the Indians, observing, that they had never as yet, called on them to fight the English, knowing that wars were destructive to nations, that those had from the beginning of the war, to the present time always advised them (the Indians) to remain quiet, and not take up the hatchet against either side. A newspaper, containing the capitulation of general Burgoyne's army, being found enclosed in the packet, Captain White Eyes once more rose up, and holding this paper unfolded with both his hands, so that all could have a view of it, said "see my friends and relatives, this document contain-

eth great events, not the song of a bird, but the truth !"—then stepping up to me, he gave me his hand, saying: "you are welcome with us Brother;" when every one present, followed his example ; after which I proceeded with my conductor John Martin to Lichtenau, where, to the inexpressible joy of the venerable missionary Zeisberger, and his congregation, we related what had taken place, while they on the other hand assured us, that nothing could have at that time come more seasonable to save the nation, and with it the mission, from utter destruction, than our arrival.

Captain White Eyes, although now relieved from all anxiety respecting his nation, could not overlook the imposition practised upon them by M'Kee and his associates. He therefore, on the next day, dispatched runners to the Shawanese towns on the Sciota, where these imposters were gone, with the following message: viz. "Grand children ! ye Shawanese ! some days ago a flock of birds, that had come on from the east, lit at Goschochking, imposing a song of their's upon us, which song had nigh proved our ruin !—Should these birds, which on leaving us, took their flight towards Sciota, endeavour to impose a song on you likewise, do not listen to them, for they lie !"

The mortification, however, which captain Pipe felt in being again so sadly disappointed, was such as might be expected from so ambitious a man. His spies, which during this critical time, he had kept at Gosch-

ochking for the purpose of watching every act of the peaceable chiefs, had brought him the doleful news, that all that White Eyes had predicted, had been verified.

The inhabitants of Gnadenhutten having now also joined the congregation at Lichtenau, as that of Shonbrun had done the preceding year, and many of the young people of the Monsey tribe, whom the Monsey chief had last spring persuaded to go off with him to a place of safety, having also since returned, the town increased to a considerable size, and the chapel was necessarily enlarged. And as one tribe of the Shawanos on Sciota, continued to be averse to the war, these, at the invitation of the chiefs of Goshochking also came on and settled near them ; from whence their chief, an amiable young man, frequently visited the missionaries at Lichtenau.

How happy would those peaceable disposed Indians have been, (which together amounted to some hundreds of souls, exclusive of the Christian Indians) had they been let alone, and not continually harrassed and troubled by others to join in murdering their fellow creatures. Even many of the warriors saw and acknowledged the advantages those Indians had over them, by not engaging in the war, but living by hunting and tilling the ground, which gave them plenty of all they stood in need of, besides enjoying the caresses of their children and friends. It was not an uncommon thing to hear warriors pass severe

censures on their employers, and place to their account the many valuable lives lost through their indiscreet advice.

During the whole summer of 1778, one report succeeded the other of the determination of the governor of Detroit, to remove the missionaries from among the Indians by one way or another; these having been represented to him as the great obstacle in the way of uniting all nations against the American people.

Unwilling, as the missionaries were, to give credit to reports of such a nature, and especially when it was added, that he had declared if he could not have them brought to him alive, he would have their scalps,—yet the chiefs of the nation, considering themselves responsible for the safety of the missionaries since they had invited them to come into their country for the purpose of instructing them in Christianity, now most strenuously enjoined the duty of protecting them, on the Christian Indians; who accordingly most faithfully guarded them, both by day and by night, especially when suspicious characters were discovered lurking in the neighbourhood.

That the governor, who in the preceding year had advised the Delaware nation "to consider the missionaries as an invaluable treasure on account of the good they had done among them, being the promoters both of their temporal and spiritual welfare, &c. should have changed his opinion respecting them was not surprising. At that time Elliot could scarcely have

been known to the governor, he being then a prisoner of the Indians, but being now liberated, he found means to insinuate himself, so that he led the governor to believe (as the tenor of his letter plainly showed) that the missionaries among the Delawares, had been placed in the Indian country by the American congress, for the purpose of preventing the Indian nations from joining the British against their "revolted subjects."—It also appears, from the subsequent acts of this man (Elliot), that the breaking up of the Chirstian Indian settlements on the Muskingum, had been contemplated, and that M'Kee, Girty and others, were only wanted as associates, to stir up the Indian tribes and nations, against the Christian Indians, and their teachers.

When small war parties passed by, they always caused more disturbance than large bodies. The former being insolent, and bent on mischief, if not immediately served with a dish of victuals, would cut down corn as they passed the fields, and shoot hogs by the way. Large bodies, on the other hand, would conduct themselves in a becoming manner, and keep good order, never making a halt in a village, but would stop at some distance, sending one of their number in to inform the inhabitants, that such a number of their friends, going to war (or returning, as the case was,) had stopped at such a place to refresh themselves, hoping that, perhaps these might find it convenient to spare them a meals victuals ;—adding, that

they need not be afraid; that even a chicken of their's should not be hurt, &c.—Such a body (for instance,) of ninety six in number, all chosen warriors, from the Wyandot towns in the vicinity of Detroit, and headed by the greatest war chief of the nation, being on their way to make a stroke on the American people, on the south side of the Ohio river, having made a halt within a quarter of a mile of Lichtenau, he sent one of his captains into the village with the following message:

"*Cousin!* I am on my way to war, with a great body of men, but you need not be uneasy, as you have nothing to fear from us. My motive for coming this way is to shake hands, both with you and your teachers, and to say something to you; for this purpose we have made a halt some distance from your village, while we wish to learn if it will be agreeable to you, for some of us to go into your village for the purpose above stated—and if you have a meals victuals to spare, my men will be thankful for it."

Glickhican, (by baptism named Isaac—the same person of whom frequent mention is made in this narrative) being an old and particular friend of this great war captain; immediately ordered victuals to be prepared and taken to the camp; while he himself went out to conduct the veteran chief into the town. He soon returned with him and fifteen of his captains, whom, according to their desire, he brought to the missionaries' dwelling. The scene, of the advance

of these heroes, was indeed awful, but not dreadful, as might be supposed,—they moved on with a grave and regular pace, as though they were going to enter a chapel; all following the example of their chief, they shook hands with each of the missionaries while pronouncing the words, "Father! I thank the great spirit that he has preserved our lives for a happy meeting on this day!"—Being next taken by the national assistants to the schoolhouse, where they were served with victuals, the head chief addressed himself to the following effect:

"*Cousin!* although until now, I have never come to see you, I am no stranger to you. I knew that you had invited teachers to come among you, for the purpose of instructing you in good things, of all which I highly approve.

"*Cousin!* I love your teachers, the same as you do. It is happy for us, that such good men as your teachers and our teachers* have come among us, to instruct us in that which is good. Both your teachers and our teachers possess the large book, in which the will and commandments of God are written. We also have a house in which we meet for prayers."

"*Cousin!* you may perhaps be astonished at hearing such words proceed from my lips, while at the same time you cannot but observe, that I am

*These Wyandots are instructed by a Roman Catholic priest, live together, and have a chapel in their village.

going on a warlike errand! but listen to me what I say! Unpleasant as it is to me, to approach you in the manner you see me; yet it is for your good and safety. You! Cousins, and your teachers, have many enemies. Frequent councils have been held, tending to your destruction.—I have often thought of you—often wished that I could see you. I have this time purposely taken my course this way to show my warriors where you dwelt, that not only they may not be led into a mistake respecting you, but also warn others from disturbing, or molesting my good cousins, the Christian Indians, and their teachers.

"*Cousin!* continue always in the same way you now are, and you will fare well. Do not join in any disputes, nor in wars, and the great spirit above will protect you against all the plots of your adversaries."

The war chief having finished his address, Isaac Glickhican rose, and in behalf of the Christian Indians, returned the following answer:

"*Uncle!* You are welcome with us.—Your words proceed not from the lips only, but from the heart; therefore they are precious.

"*Uncle!* You applaud our living together for the purpose of being instructed in that which is good, and in laying aside that which is bad—in not having any thing to do with the disputes of others, nor with wars.

"*Uncle!* You love us, and since this is the case the great spirit has directed your course this way that you might see *us*, and we *you*.

"*Uncle!* You say you have a teacher, the same as we have, and that he likewise tells you what is good and what is bad; and who, like our teachers, is in possession of the large book, wherein the commandments of God are written.—I doubt, uncle, whether it be the *same* book from which our teachers instruct *us*.—In the book which these have, God commands in one place: '*Thou shalt not kill.*'—And in another place, he says: '*Love your enemies.*'—nay, even '*pray for them!*'— Can it then be supposed, that God who created man, should not be offended, when these destroy each other.

"*Uncle!* at that time, when we were accomplices together,* each of us strove to outdo the other, in murdering human beings; but then we knew no better.—No body then told us that it was a sin to kill, and that to kill man was forbidden by the creator of men.

"*Uncle!* you and I were friends, when we both were young, and have remained such to this day, when we both are old. Let us do alike, and put away from us what is bad, and forbidden by God. I mean the killing of God's creatures!" (man).

The war chief having returned to his camp for nearly an hour, now again returned, having but a single young man with him, and requesting an audiance of a few of the national assistants, of which Isaac

* Alluding to the wars between the English and French.

Glickhican was to be one, he addressed himself to them thus:

"*My cousin*,* I have given your words a due consideration, and now will open my heart to you.

"*Cousin!* You have spoken the truth, in saying that God, who created man, cannot be pleased when these kill one another. So the teacher who instructs me, likewise says.

"*Cousin!* I myself am averse to war—to the killing of mankind, and had declined receiving the hatchet hitherto, although my father, (as he calls himself) threatened me, that if I did not receive the hatchet of him, for to kill the American people who were his enemies, he would withhold from me, every necessary article both in the clothing way, and for supporting myself and family with meat and provision. He said that he would cause me to suffer for my obstinacy.

"*Cousin!* Place yourself in my situation, living at the very door† of my father's house. When, however, I found that my father would compel me to receive the hatchet, when he told me to kill *all* the '*long knives*' (Americans) I should meet with, I said to him: '*Father! only men in arms, not women and children!*' to which, however, he replied: '*all! all!—kill all!!*

"*Cousin!* Think not that I am now on my way to

* Speeches are always addressed in the singular number.

† Meaning, so near to him, that I am dependant on him, he observing all my acts.

do what my father bid me do, no indeed not! I will tell you how I will act. I will march my men within half a day's journey of the Ohio river, and from thence send a select party off to take *one* prisoner, which prisoner shall be taken to my father, with the charge that he be not hurt, and with this I will return him his hatchet again, which he had forced upon me.

"*Cousin!* Not a life shall be lost by my party, and in *ten* days you shall see me here again, if the great spirit spares my life so long.

"*Cousin!* Were I to follow my own inclinations, I should forthwith return home from here, without even going any further, but on your account I must proceed and do something, lest you be charged by my father with having dissuaded me from doing that which he bid me to do, and he become enraged against you. No! no! you shall not suffer on my account. I act for myself.

"*Cousin!* I place the words I have spoken unto you deep under ground;* and on my return shall say more to you."

After taking a farewell, this chief with his young man returned to the camp, which was broke up, and they proceeded on their expedition without a shout, or the least noise, and returning in ten days precisely, with a prisoner, encamped for about an hour on the former spot, where they all, at his request, with his

* Under ground: the meaning is, to keep what he had said a profound secret—not divulge it.

prisoner, were fed; meanwhile, the chief with his young man, visited the missionaries for a few moments, and afterwards had a conversation with his old friend, Isaac Glickhican, mentioning a time when he would be here again to see him, but never any more would he approach the place with implements of war in his hands.

Captain White Eyes, who had hitherto been so indefatigable in preserving the nation at peace, had, soon after the disturbance caused by M'Kee and party, retired to Pittsburg for the purpose of being nearer to the Indian agent, and take his advice as circumstances might require, that the nation might, if possible, be prevented from being dragged into the war. This chief had a strong desire that his nation might become a civilized people. A retrospect of the change that had already taken place in the Christian Indians, who employed themselves principally in agricultural pursuits, and some even being mechanics, gave him the best hopes of the practicability of the measure; a lively correspondence therefore, had for a long time been kept up between this Indian agent and the Delaware chiefs and council on the subject, when nothing appeared to him wanting, to carry the measure into effect, but a peace; the war then being the obstacle to seeing his nation happy; he became the more anxious to preserve his nation quiet, until a general peace should take place; he however did not live to see that day, for while accompanying general M'Intosh's

army to Tuscorawas, where a fort* was to be built for the protection of the peaceable Indians, and frontier settlers, he took the small pox and died.

The death of this great and useful man, was severely lamented by, and a great loss to the nation; and although his ambitious and political opponent, captain Pipe, with an air of prophecy, uttered: "that the great spirit had probably put him out of the way that the nation might be saved:" it was not so considered by the faithful part. His death was according to Indian custom, made known to all the surrounding nations, even at some hundred miles distance, who all in due time condoled the nation on the loss. The person on whom, by lineal decent, the station of head chief† of the nation devolved, being yet young in years, the surviving chiefs *Gelelemend*, (alias *Killbuck*) *Machingwe Pushis*, (alias *large Cat*) and *Tetepachksi*, officiated in his stead, the two former of which kept up a lively correspondence with colonel Broadhead, the then commandant, and their agent, col. George Morgan, on measures tending to preserve the peace; and notwithstanding captain Pipe's intrigues to decieve them, and his threats and persecutions to bring them over to his political creed, they withstood him with firmness.

* The fort was built, and called Fort Laurens.

† This young chief, fell a victim under Williamson, at the time the peaceable Indians, near Pittsburg, were attacked in their camp by his party, (1781).

The winter season, during Indian wars, being the only quiet and agreeable time in their country, as the warriors, from a fear of being traced by their enemies, when snow is on the ground, prefer remaining at home; the Christian Indian congregation, enjoyed perfect rest, being in no manner incommodated by them, nor even seeing any of them. The meetings therefore, could be attended without disturbance, or interruption, and the schools being put under proper regulations, added to the happiness of the parents, and made it delightful to hear the voices of so many classes of old and young, raised in praises to the Lord, when assembled for that purpose.

It had, however, during the winter of 1778—79, been taken into consideration, whether this large congregation could, with propriety, be advised to remain together at this place for another year; and, whether it would be proper at this present time, to advise, or even suffer such, as wished to return to their former settlements, so to do: with regard to the first point, it was evident, that the inhabitants were too much crowded and confined, and possessing a large stock in horses, horned cattle and hogs, they could not find sufficient pasture, without going to a great distance, in consequence of which, many were lost, and with regard to the other suggestion, it was observed, that the warriors from Sandusky, having within the last twelve months, made their principal war path, pass through all the Delaware towns, commencing at *Gok-*

horing (the *habitation of Owls*) and ending with Lichtenau (the whole a distance of between thirty and forty miles) it might be expected that at one time or an other, the Americans, being in pursuit of warriors, who had committed murders on the south side of the Ohio, might, by following the traces of them along the path, be led straightway into Lichtenau, and fall upon the Christian Indians, believing them to have been the aggressors. Upon the whole, it was believed best, not to detain any one who wished to return to his former place of abode; moreover, it was believed, that very few, if any warriors continued to pass through these forsaken towns, especially that of Gnadenhutten; as every house, hut and stable, together with all the fencing and palings, were in the same situation as at the time the place was evacuated last year. Finally, it was agreed, that the former inhabitants of Gnadenhutten should return to that place, with as many of the former inhabitants of Shonbrun, as might choose to return thither, to build a new town on a convenient spot, the old one being entirely destroyed.

Accordingly, in April, 1779, the missionary Zeisberger set out with a number of families, for the last mentioned place; while the missionary Edwards, returned with his congregation to Gnadenhutten, all in good spirits, travelling by land and by water to their fovourite spots, believing themselves already relieved from many inconveniences and troubles, caused by the warriors.

It fell to the lot of the writer of this narrative to remain at Lichtenau, with the remainder of the congregation somewhat longer, and he concluded to remain as long as it might be advisable, without running any serious risk. Thus, there were once more three missionary establishments on the river Muskingum, the nearest of which was about thirty, and the most remote (Shonbrun), about forty miles from Lichtenau.

During the whole of the first two years, there was not a single instance of warriors passing through Gnadenhutten or Shonbrun, or their being otherwise incommoded by that class of people. They lived as peaceably and contentedly together, as if they were the only people in the country; building houses, clearing and improving their lands, and meeting daily for divine service.—Yet, on one account, the inhabitants of Gnadenhutten were sufferers, and became somewhat alarmed. Namely: the frontier people of Virginia, living on the Ohio below Wheeling, had for a long time, and indeed, ever since the Christian Indians first settled at that place, been in the habit of stealing the Indians' horses from the licks,* within a few miles of the place; and now, on learning that the Christian Indians were again returned to their settlement, they renewed this practice. Yet this was borne by the sufferers with patience, in hopes, that after a general

* To these licks, (as they are called) which contain water of a saltish or brackish nature, both horses and horn cattle resort during the summer months.

peace should take place, these horses might be, through the influence of their agent, or by the civil authority, recovered, in which hopes however, they were sadly mistaken, as the sequel will shew.

At Lichtenau, the inhabitants were, with the commencement of the spring of 1779, again incommoded, by the northern warriors, frequently passing and repassing near, and sometimes through their village.—Nay, they became more insolent and mischievous. Knowing that captain Pipe was opposed to the Goschochking chiefs and their measures, they considered him as of their party: and although he had not publicly joined them, they believed he would soon do so. They also knew, that to offend these chiefs, and such as adhered to them or their peace measures, was pleasing to him, for which reason many would purposely pass this way, who otherwise would not have done so. However, the Christian Indians kept strict order, and no warrior durst make a stay in the town; and it was amusing to hear them at times, while passing by to war, sing their farewell song,* which being more the humble addresses and supplications to the great spirit, than that of a proud high toned language, is not so disgusting as might be supposed.

As the tribes and nations connected and in league with the Delaware nation, had already sent condoling

* See, Heckewelder's Account of Indian Nations, chapter xxvi. page 204.

speeches to these on the death of their late chief Netawatwees.* ("*Nettowhatways*")† In like manner the Cherokee nation for one, had also by deputation come on, for the purpose of condoling the nation on the death of their chief *Coquchagechton*, (alias captain White Eyes.) The deputation, consisting of fourteen men, of whom two were principal chiefs, were accompanied from their country to Goschochking, by a nephew of the late captain White Eye's, who, soon after the commencement of the American revolution had been, by the Delaware chiefs, dispatched thither for the purpose of using his endeavours, in keeping that nation at peace.—When this deputation had arrived within three miles of Goschochking, and within one mile of Lichtenau, they made a halt for the purpose of having the customary ceremony performed on them, which being done by one of the councellors, from the village, who by an address and with a string of wampum, drew the thorns and briars out of their

* Who died in the year 1776.

† The writer of col. Bouquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians, in 1764. Printed in Philadelphia, and reprinted in London, in 1766, was sadly mistaken, when he asserts, at page 23, "that the col. had deposed *Nettowhatways*, the chief of the Turtle tribe," and that he had "caused that tribe to choose another chief in his stead." This "deposed" chief, held his high station after being "deposed," as before, until his death in the fall of the year 1776, during which period of time, the writer of this narrative knew him personally, and to be the same person here spoken of. See also Lockiel's History of the mission, part I. page 132—137, and throughout the work to page 117 in chapter III.

legs and feet, healed the sores and bruises they had received by hitting against logs; wiped the dust and sweat off of their bodies; and cleansed their eyes and ears, so that they might both see and hear well; and finally, they anointed* all their joints, that their limbs might again become supple. They were then served with victuals brought from Lichtenau, and they continued there the remained of that day.

On the next morning, two of the councellors from Goschochking, deputed for the purpose, informed the missionary and national assistants at Lichtenau, that by order of their chiefs, they were to conduct the Cherokee deputation into their village, from whence, they expected that we would join in the procession to Goschochking, and there attend the condoling ceremonies: all which being agreed to, these soon brought them on, one leading them in front, and the other bringing up the rear.

Arriving within about two hundred yards of the town, and in sight of it (all marching Indian file) they fired off their pieces, which compliment was instantly returned by the young men of the town, drawn up for the purpose; then raising a melancholy song, they they continued singing, until they had reached the long house, purposely built for their reception; yet not without first having lodged their arms against some trees they had passed, at a small distance from the town. Being seated on benches, prepared for the

* All which ceremonies are performed figuratively.

purpose—(the deputies on the opposite side) a dead silence prevailed for about half an hour and all present cast their eyes on the ground; at length one of these chiefs, named the Crow, rose, and with an air of sorrow, and in a low voice, with his eyes cast up to heaven, spoke to the following effect: viz.

"One morning, after having arisen from my sleep, and according to my custom, I stepped out at the door to see what weather we had, I observed at one place in the horizon a dark cloud projecting above the trees; and looking steadfastly for its movement or disappearance, found myself mistaken, since it neither disappeared, nor moved from the spot, as other clouds do. Seeing the same cloud successively every morning, and that always in the same place, I began to think what could be the cause of this singular phenomenon; at length it struck me, that as the cloud was lying in the direction that my grandfather dwelt, something might be the matter with him, which caused him grief. Anxious to satisfy myself, I resolved to go to my grandfather, and see if any thing was the matter with him. I accordingly went, steering a course in the direction I had observed the cloud to be.—I arrived at my grandfather's, whom I found quite disconsolate, hanging his head, and the tears running down his cheeks!—Casting my eyes around in the hopes of discovering the cause of his grief, I observed yonder, a dwelling closed up, and from

which no smoke* appeared to ascend!—looking in another direction, I discovered an elevated spot of fresh earth† on which nothing was seen growing and here I found the cause of my grandfather's grief. No wonder he is so grieved!—No wonder he is weeping and sobing with his eyes cast towards the ground!—Even I cannot help weeping with my grandfather, seeing in what a situation he is!—I cannot proceed for grief!"

Here, after having seated himself for about twenty minutes, and as though deeply afflicted; he again rose, and receiving from the principle chief who was seated by his side, a large string of wampum, said; "Grandfather! Lift up your head and hear what your grandchildren have to say to you!—These having discovered the cause of your grief, it shall be done away! See grandfather! I level the ground on yonder spot of yellow earth† and put leaves and brush thereon to make it invisible!—I also sow seeds on that spot, so that both grass and trees may grow thereon!" (here handing the string to the Delaware chiefs in succession) and taking up another, he continued: Grandfather! the seed which I had sown has already taken root; nay, the grass has already covered the ground and the trees are growing!" (handing this string likewise to the Delaware chief, and taking up a third string of wampum, he added: "Now my

* Meaning no person occupying the house. †The Grave.

grandfather ! the cause of your grief being removed, let me dry up your tears ! I wipe them from your eyes !—I place your body, which by the weight of grief and a heavy heart is leaning to one side, in its proper posture ! Your eyes shall be henceforth clear, and your ears open as formerly ! The work is now finished !" Handing this string likewise to the Delaware chief, he now stepped forward to where the chief and his councellors were seated, and having first shaken hands with these, he next shook hands with all present, the whole embassy following his example. This being done, and all again seated as before, the Delaware chief Gelelemend, (alias Killbuck) replied :

" Grand children ! you did not come here in vain ! You have performed a good work, in which the great spirit assisted you ! Your grandfather* makes you welcome with him !"

The meeting† then broke up for the day, and as they intended paying a visit to the commandant at Pittsburg, they produced the certificates and passports they had been furnished with, (by officers stationed near them) to learn, whether these would be sufficient to recommend them, as being at peace with the United States ; all which being confirmed, their minds were at ease.

On the day following, the chiefs of both nations

* The Indian speeches are delivered in the singular number.

† The whole ceremony, took up nearly three hours.

entered on business relating to their national concerns, and finally made a covenant, not to join in the war, but to maintain the peace, while others of the Cherokee party, together with the two women who had accompanied them to this place, exchanged sundry articles they had manufactured in their country, such as neat and curiously made tobacco pipe bowls, small baskets made of cane, &c. for articles of equal value made by their grandfather the Delawares.

It was pleasing to see so much respect paid to the memory of the departed chief of the nation—Indeed, all the surrounding nations appeared to have been sensible of his worth; while living, he often encouraged his people to adopt the way of living by agriculture, and finally become civilized. His ideas were, that unless the Indians changed their mode of living they would in time dwindle to nothing, and to encourage them towards such a change, he told them to take the example of the Christian Indians, who by their industry, had every thing they could wish for, and never suffered from want.

News being brought to Goschochking, that the governor of Detroit, who a short time before had gone with troops to Port Vincennes, and was there, together with his officers, taken prisoner by an American army under general Clarke, and by him taken to Virginia. The peaceable Indians, and the missionaries, entertained a hope that the threats, so repeatedly circulated through the country, and attributed to this

governor, would forthwith be at an end. They however found themselves mistaken, as it now became more evident, that much had been laid to the charge of this gentleman, of which he probably had no knowledge, but which had been the work of M'Kee, Elliot and Girty. These three men, whose hostility to the United States appeared to be unbounded, were continually plotting the destruction of the Christian Indians' settlements, as the only means of drawing the Delaware nation, and with these, the Christian Indians, into the war. The missionaries, in particular, were as a thorn in their eyes, being not only considerd as the cause, that, the Delaware nation would not join in the war ; but they also mistrusted them of informing the American government, of the part *they* were acting in the Indian country.

At the very time that the governor was a prisoner of general Clarke, a plot was laid at Sandusky, to take off the missioary Zeisberger ;—or to bring in his scalp ; and Simon Girty had engaged to lead the party on for the purpose. Fortunately, there lived at the time at Upper Sandusky, a trader, by the name of Alexander M'Cormick, well known to the missionaries for many years past, as a friend and admirer of missions among the Indians, who on learning the intention of this party, found means to inform the writer of this, who lived at Lichtenau, of the plot, and at which place, as it had happened, this very missionary at the time, had come on a visit from Shonbrun, which

the spies of the hostile party discovering; they, to ensure his capture, waylaid the path on which Zeisberger must return. Two spirited Indian brethren of whom Isaac Glickhican was one, were selected to conduct the missionary home by way of Gnadenhutten; with directions, however, to strengthen the guard at that place, should it be thought necessary; they left Lichtenau, when having scarcely proceeded nine miles on the journey, all of a sudden the hostile party, consisting of eight Mingoes (of the Six Nations) and Simon Girty, the person who was to point out to them the object they were come for, appeared before them on the path. At this critical moment, and while Girty was uttering to the captain of the gang the words! "this is the very man we are come for; now act agreeable to the promise you have made!" two young Delawares, on their return from a hunt, accidentally, and very fortunately, struck from out of the woods, exactly on the path where these were standing, and concluding from the words spoken by Girty, as also by the appearance of the party, that something bad was intended against the missionary; they boldly stepped froward, with their arms in readiness, to defend him, at the risk of their own lives; which the captain observing, and justly concluding that the two other Delawares who accompanied the missionary, would join these against them, were they to make the attempt; he, by a signal prudently given, declined laying hands on him. The two

young Delawares, seeing all safe, reported on their arrival at Goschochking, what had transpired, adding: that although they were none of the believing (Christian) Indians, yet they felt themselves interested in saving the life of such a good man as this teacher was; even at the risk of perishing themselves in the conflict.

The political division among the Delawares, caused by captain Pipe, increased to such a degree, that the peace chiefs of Goschochking, could plainly see that all their endeavours to preserve the nation at peace, would in the end fail. These scarcely durst venture to make a message from the American government known, from apprehension that Pipe, on hearing it, would place a false construction thereon. He however, had not as yet publicly declared that his object was to take a part in the war, though he frequently had advised his party, to hold themselves always in readiness, for turning out at a moment's warning, in defence of the nation, should circumstances require it. He was inimical to the object of those chiefs who were wishing to see the nation become a civilized and agricultural people; and, as it were, caught at every pretext that would serve his purpose in putting down the measures taken by those for that purpose. Thus, when a young man of his tribe, who had received his education in Virginia, under the influence of Dr. Walker, on his return into the Indian country in 1779, spread unfavourable reports of the Virginian people; repre-

senting them as exceeding the Indians in vicious acts—their beating the negroes so unmercifully, &c. &c. Pipe would mockingly enumerate such vicious and *cruel* acts, as the benefits of civilization. Again, he could at the time, with truth, set forth the poverty of the United States, in not having even a blanket, a shirt, or other article of Indian clothing to give to them in exchange for their peltry; whereas, (said he) was it not for the English, we would have to suffer, and perhaps many of us perish for want.

Thus, by Pipe's holding forth such language, many (even averse to war,) were deceived; and believed, that in going over to him, they would be on the safe side. This inviting language, had also caused a number of the Monseys at Sandusky to join his party, from whose passion for war, it was evident, that, unless he submitted to their wishes, he would not be able to keep up his popularity much longer; and indeed, before he was aware of it, he became convinced of this, as will be seen by the following occurrence; viz. the commissary from Fort Laurens, (a Mr. Sample,) who had come on with some men from the garrison, for the purpose of purchasing grain and other articles, of the Delawares, at the forks of Muskingum, having pitched his tent opposite to the village, leaving one of his men to take care of the camp and horses, had scarcely crossed the Muskingum river, which lay between his camp and the town, when the scalp yell was heard in the direction of his camp. The people of

the town running to the bank, just saw the murderers go off in triumph with the scalp of the man, and the horses; and the following morning, as another of his men was returning from Lichtenau, he was also fired at, out of the corn field adjoining the path—had his arm broken, and was pursued almost to the town, before the inhabitants were aware of what had passed, or could relieve him. The Delaware chiefs indeed, had exerted themselves in recovering the horses and plunder: but the perpetrators of the deeds were not detected, they having precipitately fled, on discovering the pursuers.

Such acts, committed close to the place of the great council fire of the nation, caused general consternation among the inhabitants, and spread a gloom on all countenances. Pipe, being questioned as to the acts which had taken place, vindicated himself by saying, "that it had been done without his knowledge, and that he was sorry for it," but this was not sufficient to ease the minds of the chiefs on so serious a matter; and not only these, but the Christian Indians with them, foresaw, that by a repetition of similar acts, the council fire at this place (Goschochking) would be polluted, if not altogether extinguished.

That tribe of the Shawanese, which had within the last two years, joined themselves to the peaceable Delawares, observing these proceedings now broke up and returned again to Sciota; and the Christian Indians also began to think of leaving their fine settle-

ment; (Lichtenau) particularly as they had learnt, that the Sandusky warriors, now began to make a halt at Pipe's settlements, which place actually did, sometime after, become the general rendezvous of the warriors.

Every preparation having been made during the winter, to leave the place early in the spring, the congregation met on the morning of the 3d day of March (1780), once more to unite in thanks and praises to the Lord, for all the blessings received from him, during the five years this place had been occupied by them, (the Christian Indians,) after which, the chapel being pulled down, that it might not be applied to heathenish purposes; they set out by land and water, and having proceeded upwards of twenty miles up the river, and to within six miles of Gnadenhutten, they built a town, which they called Salem; and the Brethren of the two towns above, (namely, Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun) offering their services, in helping to build the chapel, they worked together, with uncommon cheerfulness and industry, so that on the 22d of May, the same was consecrated by the worthy senior missionary, Zeisberger, and the next day the communicants partook of the holy sacrament, for the first time, at this place. Baptism was also administered on the 28th, and it appeared as if new life had been bestowed on the three congregations generally.

The building was forty feet by thirty-six, handsomely put up, of hewed or squared timbers, with a

cupola and bell, and all the dwelling houses were raised and completed by December. The peaceable Indians from Goschochking and its neighbourhood, who had frequented the meetings at Lichtenau, would occasionally come from thence to hear the gospel preached, notwithstanding the distance was more than twenty miles.

During all the troubles that had befallen the Christian Indians, from the commencement of the war; many of the heathens joined them, and the labourers being found insufficient to attend to all the cares devolving on them, especially in that of teaching the children; it was deemed proper at this time, to encourage some assistants to repair to the mission. Some were accordingly sent, and the venerable minister Grube, from Lititz in Pennsylvania, (who formerly had been a missionary to the Delaware Indians,) willingly accompanied them to the place of their destination. There being two sisters for the service of the mission, in company, some of the national assistants with their wives, went to meet them at Pittsburg, for the purpose of assisting them on the way, and also, to guard them against any unfriendly Indians, they might meet with; when, shameful to relate, while they met with a civil treatment from all the Indians they had seen, they were on the other hand pursued by some white people, who fired into their camp, early on the second morning of their journey; but fortunately, without any one

being injured; although one of the balls had pierced the shirt of the national assistant Jones, who at the time was sitting close to the minister Grube. The villains, after having fired into the camp, immediately ran off; and it now appeared more necessary to guard against attacks of white people,* than from Indian warriors.

The rev. Grube, after an agreeable stay of seven weeks, during which time he made himself thoroughly acquainted with both the internal and external state of the three Indian congregations; returned, August 5th, with a heart filled with joy and gratitude to our blessed Lord, for the abundant mercies bestowed by him on this Indian flock. The advantage this worthy man had, of understanding the Delaware language, gave him an opportunity of conversing with them freely on all matters, but particularly respecting their religious exercises. Brother Shabosh, who accompanied him, on his journey home, returned in November following, with Brother Michael Young, who was sent from Bethlehem, as another assistant to the mission.

Having, in the preceding pages of this narrative, exhibited the precarious situation in which the Chris-

* It is a fact, well known to many who have lived among the Indians, that sometimes frontier white people have dressed and blackened themselves to resemble Indians, and attacked travellers, or frightened them from their camps, for the purpose of taking their effects, these resting satisfied, that all would be placed to account of the Indians.

tian Indians were placed by the existing war, together with the course they had taken, both for their own preservation, and also for that of the Delaware nation, unto whom they were to look for protection: I have next to follow up the subject, by relating the occurrences which happened from time to time; ending in the dissolution of the established council of the nation in the country,—the destruction of the Christian Indians' settlements on the Muskingum—the murder of upwards of ninety Christian Indians, and the removal of the missionaries from Sandusky to Detroit, with the dispersion of the remainder of the Indian converts:—trials, the most afflicting,—and scenes unprecedented.

It appeared shortly after the Christian Indians had moved away from Lichtenau, that captain Pipe, for the purpose of destroying the whole system pursued by the chiefs of Goschochking for the preservation of peace, had taken measures to defeat all their endeavours for that purpose, and in consequence of his machinations, the chiefs had for their own safety, to withdraw themselves from their nations and take refuge at Pittsburg. Pipe, fearing the consequences of this removal, withdrew also with his party, and settled at Upper Sandusky near the residence, of the half king of the Wyandots, with whom he had leagued for the purpose of carrying on the war against the United States with vigour.

The Christian Indians, being ignorant of what was

transacting at this time, without their circle,—not a single warrior having passed through their towns, since they had been settled where they now were ;—neither having heard any evil reports respecting themselves, or their teachers, nor even apprehending, that during the calm they were enjoying, a storm was gathering ; were following their agricultural pursuits with alacrity, and living in all respects up to their Christian profession. Yet, a storm *had* been gathering all this while, which will be taken notice of in its proper place.

In March of the year 1781, one of the brethren from Salem, who had returned from hunting; made report, that within four or five miles of the place, he had discovered a small body of warriors in camp, who had a prisoner, and, among the horses he had seen tied to the trees, was the horse of their teacher, which, together with other horses belonging to the Christian Indians, had last year been stolen by white people from the Ohio settlements. Moved with compassion for the unfortunate prisoner, the inhabitants of Salem, made a collection of wampum and other articles, for his redemption ; in which they succeeded to their wishes, and taking him afterwards to Pittsburg, he was again restored to his friends. They had also ransomed the missionary's horse from these warriors, but they being told on their arrival at Sandusky, that every article taken from an enemy was a just prize, they returned and reclaimed the horse.

Shortly after this had taken place, the missionary at Salem (the writer of this) received by an Indian express, a few lines written by col. Broadhead, stating that he was encamped with a body of troops (regulars and militia) on the opposite side of the river, a few miles below Salem; requesting some articles of provisions from the Christian Indians, and a visit by me at his camp. The Indians of the two nearest towns complied immediately with his request, and I repaired to the camp, where he informed me, that being on an expedition against a band of hostile Indians, at, or near the forks of the river; he was anxious to know before he proceeded any further, whether any of the Christian Indians were out a hunting, or on business, in the direction he was going, being answered in the negative, he declared that nothing would give him greater pain, than to hear that any one of the Moravian Indians had been molested by his troops, as these Indians had conducted themselves, from the commencement of the war, in a manner that did them honour. That neither the English nor the Americans, could with justice reproach them with improper conduct in their situation; they having always acted on the principles of humanity, and sought the good and welfare of those nations who had opened their arms to receive teachers among them for good purposes, &c."

However, whilst the col. was assuring me, that our Indians had nothing to fear, an officer came with

great speed from one quarter of the camp, and reported that a particular division of the militia, "were preparing to break off for the purpose of destroying the Moravian settlements up the river, and he feared they could not be restrained from so doing." The col. however, immediately took such measures as prevented them from carrying their wicked designs into execution; and I take pleasure in mentioning the name of a col. Shepherd of Wheeling, who having the command of another division of the militia, would have supported col. Broadhead in the measures he intended to resort to, had the militia attempted to carry their murderous designs into execution.

Shortly after the return of these troops to Pittsburg, as two Indian brethren from Gnadenhutten, were looking for their strayed horses, they were met about twelve miles below Salem by eighty Indian warriors, who without ceremony took them prisoners, saying: "we do not intend to hurt you, but the errand we are on requiring the greatest secrecy, we cannot set you at liberty, until we have done what we intend to do." Then taking a course through the woods, until they had come within a short distance of Gnadenhutten, they rested until nearly break of day, guarding the brethren, that they might not escape and give information of them. The day approaching, they moved on, and having surrounded the town completely, hailed the inhabitants, to deliver into their hands the chief, Gelele-

mend,* (alias Killbuck) with the other chiefs and councellors: whom they must have either alive or dead. The party being informed, that not one of those they were in search of, were here at the time, but had all gone to Pittsburg some time past; they then searched every house, stable and cellar; and being finally satisfied that they had been told the truth, they demanded that deputies, consisting of the principle men of the three towns, should be called together, to hear what they had to say to them. The national assistants being sent for from Shonbrun and Salem, Pachgantschihilas, the head war chief of the Delaware Nation, addressed them in the following manner:

"Friends and kinsmen! Listen to what I say to you! You see a great and powerful nation divided! You see the father fighting against the son, and the son against the father!—The father has called on his Indian children, to assist him in punishing his children, the Americans, who have become refractory!—I took time to consider what I should do—whether or not I would recieve the hatchet of my father, to assist him!—At first I looked upon it, as a family quarrel, in which I was not interested!—However, at

* Their object was, to take these off to a place where they would have them under *their* control, and prevent them from governing the nation while the war lasted; it being a custom with the Indian Nations, that as soon as the peace chief has gave his consent to war measures, his office ceases, and the power is vested in the head captains of the nation, until his services, in making peace, are again wanted.

length it appeared to me, that the father was in the right; and his children deserved to be punished a little!—That this must be the case, I concluded from the many cruel acts his offspring had committed from time to time, on his Indian Children; in encroaching on their lands, stealing their property, shooting at, and murdering without cause, men, women and children!—Yes! even murdering those, who at all times had been friendly to them, and were placed for protection under the roof of their fathers' house*—the father himself standing centry† at the door, at the time.

"Friends and relatives! Often has the father been obliged to settle, and make amends for the wrongs and mischiefs done to us, by his refractory children,‡ yet these do not grow better! No! they remain the same, and will continue to be so, as long as we have any land left us! Look back at the murders committed by the long knives (Virginians) on many of our relations, who lived peaceable neighbours to them on the Ohio! Did they not kill them without the least provocation?—Are they, do you think

* Alluding to the Conestoga Indians, who were placed for protection in a *public* building—(the jail) a mansion erected by authority, (by the fathers' orders).

† Meaning the keeper of the jail, who is here considered as an officer placed by the father (the government) for to guard and protect those within.

‡ Meaning the American people.

better now than they were then?—No, indeed not; and many days are not elapsed since you had a number of these very men near your doors, who panted to kill you, but fortunately were prevented from so doing by the *great Sun*,* who, at that time, had by the great spirit been ordained to protect you!

"Friends and relatives! you love that which is good, and wish to live in peace with all mankind, and at a place where you may not be disturbed whilst praying!—You are very right in this; and I do not reproach you in having made the choice!—But, my friends and relatives! does the place you at present are settled at, answer this purpose!—Do you not live in the very road the contending parties pass over when they go to fight each other!—Have you not discovered the footsteps of the long knives, almost within sight of your towns, and seen the smoke† arising from their camps!—Should not this be sufficient warning to you; and lead you to consult your own safety! We have long since turned our faces towards your habitations, in the expectation of seeing you come from where you now are, to us where you would be out of danger; but you were so engaged in praying, that you did not discover our anxiety for your sakes!"

"Friends and relatives!—Now listen to me and

* The "great sun," is the name the Indians had given to col. Daniel Broadhead.

† Meaning the Militia camps, when col. Broadhead was out.

hear what I have to say to you.—I am myself come to bid you rise and go with me to a secure place! Do not my friends, covet the land you now hold under cultivation. I will conduct you to a country* equally good, where your fields shall yield you abundant crops; and where your cattle shall find sufficient pasture; where there is plenty of game; where your women and children, together with yourselves, will live in peace and safety; where no long knife shall ever molest you!—Nay! I will live between you and them, and not even suffer them to frighten you!—There, you can worship your God without fear!—Here, where you are, you cannot do this!—Think on what I have now said to you, and believe, that if you stay where you now are, one day or the other, the long knives, will in their usual way, speak fine words to you, and at the same time murder you!"†

To the above speech the Christian Indians, in the course of an hour, replied: "that they thanked their friends and relations, for the affectionate and well meaning address, delivered to them this day.—They, however, were sorry to learn that their friends had such a bad opinion of their white Brethren, the Americans, who had sprung from the same soil with them; that hitherto, they had found no cause to mis-

* The Miami country.

† See Heckewelder's Historical account of the Indian Nations, chap. iii.

trust the sincerity of their American Brethren; and as they, (the Christian Indians) had never committed a single hostile act against these, they saw no cause for fearing any injury from them!—If their friends and relations really loved them as much as they pretended to do, they ought to avoid their peaceable settlements altogether, when going out for the purpose of committing hostilties, or returning from having done so; as nothing would sooner draw an enemy upon them, than *their* making their war paths through their settlements, as had been done whilst they lived at Lichtenau!—That they lived very happy at their present settlement and were at present much too heavy* to think of rising and going with them!"

Pachgantschihilas, after having held a consultation with his captains, then addressed the Christian Indians in the following words: to wit,

"My friends, ye believing (Christian) Indians! I have paid attention to what you have said—your words proceed from a good heart, a heart which cannot think bad of any one. Although I am satisfied with what I have heard from you, yet I differ from you in opinion! I still believe, that the long knife people will always remain the same, until they have got all our land from us, and we be left to perish, or driven by them into the great Saltwater lake! (the sea).

* "Too heavy," means too much property, provisions, &c. on hand—immoveable property.

After once more giving you the warning, not to suffer yourselves to be decieved by their fair words and fine speeches, I wave my first proposal, and propose another.

" My friends, &c. when I first spoke to you, I did not intend to *compel* you, immediately to leave your settlements !—No ! I had no such intention !—I meant to apprise you of the danger you were in by living here, and to advise you for the best, and, in case you should follow my advice, then to help you along !—but, as the attachment for the place you now are living at, keeps your eyes closed against seeing the danger that is so near you ; I will wave my first proposal, and introduce another which I ask of you to agree to. I say then friends and relatives !—Let every one among you have his *free will*, either to go or stay !—Do *not* hinder such as labour under the impulse of fear, from retiring to a safe place, and I am satisfied !"—Which proposal being immediately agreed to, the council broke up, and the national assistants returned to their respective homes.

The inhabitants of Salem, having on the following morning received notice by a runner from Gnadenhutten, that the whole body of warriors would be at this place in the forenoon, where they also expected to meet with a kind reception ; Isaac Glickhican went out to meet them, whilst the women of the place were preparing victuals for them. Contrary to the custom of warriors when publicly ap-

proaching a town, neither a yell nor shout was heard. Arriving at the centre of the village, and opposite to the chapel and missionary's dwelling, Pachgantschihilas, the head captain, ordered a halt, and having drawn up his men for the purpose, addressed them thus :

" Friends, my warriors ! you who on this day enter with me this town of believing (Christian) Indians, hearken to what I say unto you. Warriors ! ye young men and ye aged ! your behaviour, whilst we were at Gnadenhutten, merits my approbation ; you conducted yourselves there as good and brave men ought to do, in not insulting or disturbing a people who wish to be at peace with all mankind, and who have devoted themselves to serve their God !—Look around you my warriors, and you will discover in these your friends and relatives, the same inoffensive and hospitable people ! —Their devotion (religion) requires that they should be so.—The great book, (bible) from which they are taught, contains nothing but good things.—Look at that house (pointing to the chapel) there our friends meet to pray.—See ! *there* lives their teacher.—We knew each other for many years, and I shall pay him a visit.—You my warriors, will now proceed to yonder grove of sugar trees, where you will be served with victuals by our friends of this place, after which you can visit the town. But my young warriors ! do not carry your arms with you when you come for the purpose of

visiting, lest the women and children who are not accustomed to visits of that kind, be frightened.—Guard the camp in turn, lest the hogs and cattle that are running about, destroy something. You see what a stock of cows and hogs our friends have.—You will be served by our friends both with milk and pork. Destroy nothing that belongs to our friends, no, not even one of their chickens!—Then turning his face the other way, he said, unto you my friends, the believing Indians, I shall say something afterwards."

On his entering the missionary's house, he by way of introduction passed a compliment on me, referring to our having been acquainted with each other at Tuscorowas, nineteen years past; which compliment was to be considered in this instance, as conveying a wish to form an acquaintance between his war captains and me, two of whom were Shawanese, and the other two, Delawares.—The national assistants of the place, being also present, a very interesting conversation took place between the parties, during which this head captain made the following remarks: viz.—"The Christian Indians were a happy people; and he would never trouble them on account of their not joining in the war.—Indeed, they could not with propriety join in wars, without first renouncing praying (meaning Christianity.)—And every Indian, or body of Indians, had a right to choose for themselves, whom they would serve!—For him, he had hired himself to his father, the king of England,

for the purpose of fighting against his refractory children, the long knives; whilst his friends and relations, the Christian Indians, had hired themselves to the great spirit, solely for the purpose of performing prayers!" (meaning, attending to religion) —He added, both were right in their way, though both employments could not be connected together! And only yesterday they were told, whilst at Gnadenhutten, that God had instructed all Christian people to *love* their enemies—and even to pray for them!—These words, he added, were written in the large book that contained the word and commandments of God!—Now, how would it appear, were we to compel our friends, who love and pray for their enemies, to fight against them!—compel them to act contrary to what they believe to be right!—force them to do that by which they would incur the displeasure of the great spirit, and bring his wrath upon them!—That it would be as wrong in him to compel the Christian Indians to quit praying and turn out to fight and kill people, as it would be in them to compel him to lay fighting aside, and turn to praying only!—He had often heard it said, that the believing Indians were slaves to their teachers, and what these commanded them to do, they *must* do, however disagreeable to them!—Now, (said he) how can this be true, when every Indian is a free man, and can go where he pleases!—Can the teacher stop him from going away?—No! he cannot!—well! how can

he then be made a slave by the teacher !—when we come here among our friends, we see how much they love their teachers.—This looks well !—Continue my friends (said he to the national assistants) in loving your teachers, and in doing all good things ; and when your friends and relations come to see you, satisfy their hunger the same as you have done to us this day !"

Having taken leave of all who were in the house, he proceeded to the middle of the street, from whence he addressed, and thanked the inhabitants of the place for their hospitality, assuring them of his regard and good wishes for them, adding : that " if at any time they should hear it said, that Pachgantschihilas was an enemy to the believing (Christian) Indians ; they should consider such words as lies !"

One family of old people, (Joseph Pepee and his wife) formerly belonging to the rev. missionary Brainard's congregation in New Jersey, (with two aged women, their relations,) accepted the offer of being taken to a place of more safety, they expecting that the whole congregation would soon follow them. The former, although a friend to the white people generally, had during a long life, witnessed so many heinous murders, committed by them on harmless Indians that he could not refrain giving some credit to what this great chief had predicted, would one day befal the Christian Indians,* were they to remain where they

* The sequel will show, that the predictions of this war chief were correct.

now were.—All being ready, the whole body of warriors moved towards their respective homes.

From this time forward, it became evident that some underhanded work was carrying on among the hostile Indians, to the prejudice of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum. Of Pachgantschihilas and his party, nothing was to be feared. Neither was it at this time supposed, that the half king of the Wyandots, after the fair promises he had previously made, would so expose himself, as to show hostile intentions against these Indians. Pipe, and the Monseys, were those who were most dreaded, and with whom M'Kee, Elliot and Girty had great influence. Frequently the attempts to murder the missionaries, at each of the three settlements had failed. At Shonbrun, the missionary Senseman, who had gone into the field for some greens, was providentially saved, by two Brethren, coming up at the instant he was about being seized by an Indian enemy.—At Gnadenhutten the missionaries Edwards and Young, were near being shot by a white man, while they were planting potatoes in the field; and their lives were only saved by the captain of the war party, whom this white man had joined.*—The writer of this narrative, was at two different times waylaid, while returning from Gnadenhutten to Salem; at one time by an Indian laying behind a log† by the way side, and who had already levelled

* See Heckewelder's Historical Account of the Indian Nations, chap. xliv. page 339. † Chapter xxxvii. page 275.

his piece at him, and the other time from the same Indian who lay concealed in the top of a tree, near the path he was to pass. Both times he was preserved by Christian Indians, providentially coming to his relief. Even an attempt was made by the same Indian to break into his house and murder him, but he was timely discovered by the people without, and prevented from carrying his designs into execution. This Indian was the same person of whom notice has already been taken as having received his education in Virginia—and was also the same person from whom the Christian Indians in March preceding had purchased the prisoner, whom they set at liberty. On being closely questioned by the national assistants respecting his attempt to take the life of their teacher, he replied: "that on his arrival at Sandusky, *without* the prisoner he had taken, he was ubraided, and called the Salem white man's slave, whom *he* must obey, the same, as he had so often told them, that the negroes in Virginia must obey their white masters—and that by and bye this Salem whiteman, would whip him also, if he did not obey his commands.—That the demand made on him for the prisoner, had been by the orders given by this white teacher, and therefore, if he did not wish to be considered by them, as a slave of that man, he must go back and take him, or his scalp, in place of the prisoner he had lost through him, &c. The Christian Indians perceiving the error the man, laboured under, thought proper to state the case

to him correctly, by means of a speech, to which a string of wampum as a voucher, was annexed; which, with some presents in addition, served to prove that the purchasing of his prisoner by them, had been *their* own voluntary act, and done without the assistance or interference of their teacher.—At another time a dark looking Monsey, was on the point of shooting me, but luckily prevented by another Indian springing in between us; being questioned as to his designs against me, he replied, that, the Monseys had lost their fine country* by fraud† committed on them by people whose skin was of the colour of mine, and he, therefore, was an avowed enemy to all who had a white skin.

Early in the spring of this year, and before any of the before mentioned circumstances and troubles had taken place, the missionary Zeisberger set out for Bethlehem, for the purpose of having an interview with the Bishop, John Frederick Reichel, one of the general directors of the Brethren's society. This brother having been deputed by the board of directors in Europe to hold a visitation in all the Brethren's congregations in north America, and of making himself acquainted with the state of the Brethren's missions among the Indians of that country; had, for that purpose, invited the missionary to meet him at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania; when having confer-

* The Minisink, together with their settlements in the forks.

† Alluding to the long walk in the year 1737.

red together—and made the necessary arrangements for the better supplying each of the three Indian congregations with missionaries and assistants, the missionary and wife, accompanied by the missionary Youngman and wife, returned to his post at Shonbrun, where they arrived towards the end of July of the same year.

As the severe trials, and great calamities, which this Indian congregation had yet to endure, came on them like a torrent, and without their having the least knowledge of what was passing among the warring Indians, or of the plot that had been laid for their destruction; this may perhaps be the proper place to review the causes assigned by those who had devised the measures, which led to those barbarous and unprecedented acts, and the means that were taken to ensure them success, in the execution of their designs.

From sources the most authentic, it was ascertained that, the new appointed commandant at Detroit; (successor to the late governor Hamilton, then prisoner to the Americans:) had, as well as his predecessor, been imposed upon, and made to believe that the missionaries among the Delawares, were sent by congress as spies among the Indians, for the purpose of carrying on a correspondence with them, prejudicial to the British interest, &c. To give their reports a greater weight, these men, (known to be enemies to the mission) persuaded both captain Pipe, of the Delawares, and the half king, of the Wyandot na-

tion, to join them in lodging complaints with the commandant against the missionaries.

These men, (M'Kee, Elliot and Simon Girty) had long tried to instigate the Indians, to rid themselves of the missionaries in one way or the other; even if it were, by murdering them. We have already seen in a preceeding page, how Girty had conducted a murdering party to the Muskingum, for the purpose of taking Zeisberger, or his scalp. Finding however, after all their efforts, that they would not succèed in this way, they applied to the war council of the Six Nations, to do the business, and for this purpose, the Indian agent* (M'Kee) personally went to the general council at Niagara. Although the greater part of the Six Nations were at that time in the British interest, yet, for political reasons, they did not wish to commit the act imposed on them themselves; they therefore sent a message to the Chippewas and Ottawas, to this purport: "we herewith make you a present of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum, to make broth* of!" which words in the war phrase, signifies: *we give you the command, to put those people to death!* These two Nations, however, being a branch of the Delaware family, and ranking as grand children to them, declined the summons, saying: that "their grandfather had done them no injury!" The same message was next sent to the half king of the Hurons, (Wyandots) who was nearly connected with the Six

* See Lockiel's History of the mission, &c. part, iii. chap ix.

Nations; but they would not accept the message, in the form it was sent, and with its true meaning; they still wishing to be considered by their cousins (the Delawares) as guardians and protectors of the *Christian Indians*, a title which they had assumed, on account of their considering themselves also as *Christians*, a number of their tribe having in a manner joined themselves to the Catholics, or at least attended mass, wore beads, &c. Yet the half king, finally suffered himself to be persuaded by Elliot, captain Pipe and others to take the lead in an expedition against the settlements, under the promise, that the latter would be at his side, with all his men, and act in concert with him. Thus far agreed, invitations were sent to the warriors residing in different parts of the country, and near Detroit, to meet at a certain time at Sandusky, to a great war feast; when, the time being come, they were furnished by the instigators of the diabolical plot with a large ox,* which being roasted entire, they feasted on it; *eating*, *dancing* and *singing*, each in his turn, their war exploits; the British flag being hoisted near them, as a proof, that the expedition they were going on, was sanctioned by their father, the British.† Being next served with ammunition and other articles, by Elliot, they formed themselves into companies, and began their march, but where to, and for what purpose, none except those who were in the secret knew.

* See Lockiel's History of the mission, &c. part iii. chap. ix.

† So related by warriors of note, who were present.

This intended expedition against the Christian Indians, was kept so secret that the latter were unacquainted with what was passing, until the warriors were at their very doors. On the afternoon of the 10th of August, the half king with an hundred and forty armed men suddenly appeared before the town of Salem, with British colours flying, and having formed for themselves a large camp, the colours were set in the centre, where captain Elliot, with the half king, and Mr. M'Cormick, (the flag bearer,) had their tents fixed.

Whilst the national assistant, Isaac Glickhican, had repaired to their camp, to learn what all this indicated, captain Elliot came to the house of the missionaries (the writer of this narrative) " to see how we all did," (as he expressed himself). Enquiring of him, what these warriors intended, he replied: that " the half king had something to say to the Christian Indians; but what it was he could not tell; as both he and M'Cormick, had been compelled by the chief, to go with him, and attend at the meeting, and hear what he would say!" On observing to him; that the men being armed, and having colours with them, I must suspect them to be on a hostile expedition; he replied: " the Indians never go from home without taking their arms with them." Asking him, if he and Mr. M'Cormick could make it convenient, to take a cup of tea with us this evening: he replied, " that it would entirely depend on the pleasure of

the half king, without whose permission neither of them durst leave the camp, and although he believed *he* might for himself, obtain this permission, yet as M'Cormick had charge of the colours, he would have to be at his post, until relieved by him, after which he also might be permitted to call to see me."

Isaac Glickhican, having by this time returned from the camp, reported, that the half king requested an audience at my house, having something to say to the chief men of the place in my presence. After being admitted, he, having first passed the usual salutation, addressed himself to me: "Father!" and turning to the national assistants, continued, "and you my Cousins!"—"I am come to see you, and to *say* something to you; and, as what I have to say, interterest all my cousins at the *three* towns, I wish you to appoint a place where you can all conveniently come to hear me!—Fear no harm my cousins! I respect you!" The answer being immediately given, that as Gnadenhutten lay in the centre, it would be the most proper place for the purpose; he again returned to his quarters. Elliot having gone off with the chief, M'Cormick obtained permission to go to see me for a few minutes. This good man, who had been compelled against his will to join the party, did not leave me in suspence, as to the object of the expedition, and having disclosed to me their designs; he exclaimed: "O Mr. Heckewelder! *but* for two or three wicked men, you might remain where you are, and live

happy. All the Indians respect you, and admire your excellent regulations.—All unite that you are a good, peaceable, and hospitable people! Neither would the commandant at Detroit disturb you, but for ——, and the villain, who ran up to see you, under the mask of friendship, who is at the head of the plot. Nothing will serve *him* but your destruction. Mark what I say!" On retiring, I enquired, whether what he now divulged to me, I was permitted to inform the senior missionary Zeisberger of by letter; he replied, "yes! but, between you two, it must be kept a secret, for should it be divulged, they would shoot me!"

Elliot in the evening came to sup with us, and acted the complete hypocrite, speaking of old acquaintance; of services rendered him at different times, both in health and sickness, prior to the war; he admired the order and industry of the Christian Indians, and saying: "that he believed, had the peace continued, we would have brought over nearly the whole of the Delaware Nation to our manner of living, &c. and to complete his hypocrisy, he presented our child with sundry articles of merchandize for clothing.

It now became my duty to apprise the missionary Ziesberger, at Shonbrun, (distant fifteen miles) of what had passed in the course of this afternoon; and that, in consequence of this, I could not meet him on the morrow to a conference, which had previously been agreed upon by us. The reply which I recieved from this faithful servant of Christ, was in these words: to

wit, "It then has the appearance as if Satan is again about to make himself merry by troubling and persecuting us! No wonder he grows angry when he sees how many of his subjects he looses, by our preaching the gospel! His roaring however must not frighten us! we have a heavenly father, without whose will he dare not touch us! let us rely on him, who so often has delivered us from his machinations!"

The warriors, who were well supplied with provisions, at their camp, had not caused us the least disturbance during the night, and having broke up camp at ten o'clock in the morning, they passed through the town in two divisions for Gnadenhutten, the first division consisting of footmen, and the other mounted on horseback; Elliot and the half king being in the centre with the British colours flying.

On the same day, another body of forty men, of the Monsey tribe arrived, who, being served likewise with victuals, continued on to the same place, where, within four days, upwards of three hundred warriors had assembled, and which were of the following tribes and nations, viz. The Wyandots from upper Sandusky, commanded by the half king*—others of the same nation from Detroit and lower Sandusky, commanded by Kuhn, a head war chief of the latter place, captains Pipe and Wingemund, Delaware war chiefs,

* The Delawares call this half king by the name of "*Pomoacan*," which in English is a *sweet house*.

with their men from Upper Sandusky. The Monsey war chief with about forty men from the same place. The two Shawanese captains, named by the traders John and Thomas Snake, with a few of their men from Sciota. Several straggling Indians of the Mohegan, and Ottawas tribes, and Elliot with his attendant Michael Herbert, M'Cormick the bearer of the flag, and lastly, a small train of invalid Wyandots, men and women with horses, who had come to assist in carrying off the booty.

For a whole week these warriors passed their time in eating, drinking, and sleeping, except their head men, who daily sat in council, deliberating on the best manner of carrying their designs into execution; when on the 20th of the month (August,) the half king made known, that on the morrow he wished to see the principle men of the three towns, assembled, to hear what he had to say to them. When, on proper notification given, these had arrived, he addressed them to the following purport, viz: "That he, for a long time, had been much concerned on account of his cousins, the believing Indians, as they lived in a very dangerous place!—That they were sitting between two powerful, angry gods,* who, with their mouths wide open, were most ferociously looking at each other!—that this being the case, they were in danger of being attacked and devoured; nay, even

* Meaning the English and American armies fighting against each other.

ground to powder, by the teeth of one or the other of them, or perhaps by both at the same time!—It therefore was not advisable for them to remain longer where they now were!—and he now called on them to reflect on their situation, and the means to save their lives, and those of their women and children, who must all perish if they remained here longer! That he now took his cousins by the hand, to lead them to a place of safety.—And advised them not to stand gazing at their crops in the fields, their houses, and other property, but rise, take their teachers, and he would lead them to a place where they might worship their God as they were accustomed to do!—That they would find plenty of provisions where he would take them to; and, besides this, their Father* at Detroit would also provide for them. He added, that he had purposely come here to deliver this message to his cousins, for their consideration!" (Here handing a string of wampum to them.)

To this speech, the Christian Indians replied: that they had listened with attention to what their Uncle had said to them, but could not see the danger they were said to be in, by remaining where they now were.—They being at peace with all mankind; and having nothing to do with the war; saw no cause of any body hurting them!—nothing appeared to them dark† all being light around them!

* Meaning the British.

† No danger.

—and they wished to remain where they were, and enjoy peace, which they could not do were they to live near them!—They added that they were at present too heavy* to rise and go with them, but would consider what he had said to them, and return him an answer between this time and spring!"

With this answer, not only the half king, but the greater part of the warriors, appeared to be perfectly satisfied, declaring that it would be wrong to compel their cousins, friends and relations, to move from a favourite spot, where they had every thing they could wish for, in abundance, and where they lived so content and happy!—Besides this, they considered it inconsistent with true policy, to distress a people, who had treated them with so much kindness and hospitality, since they had been here!—And to show further their disapprobation of the project, and in some measure retaliate on the person† who devised it, they drew up with their arms, to where the British colours were flying, discharging their pieces at it, and would have shot it to rags, had they not been prevented; all which now gave Mr. M'Cormick an opportunity of returning home, taking the colours with him.

Mortifying as this was to captain Elliot, he continued to urge captain Pipe and the half king, not to

* Meaning they had much immoveable property. † Captain Elliot.

give up, but to have recourse to other, and more severe measures : which advice, caused another weeks consultation. In the interim, it had by some means or other been discovered, that two of the Christian Indian brethren were missing ; and it being supposed by the captains, that these were gone either to Pittsburg, or some other fortification on the Ohio river to draw a body of troops out, for the relief of the Christian Indians, every path, leading to such places was beset by some of their men ; when of course the two missing brethren, fell into their hands on their return home from Pittsburg. Having stripped them of their clothes to search for letters, even examining the barrels of their guns and their powder horns for the same purpose, without discovering any thing in writing upon them, they took them along as prisoners, but did not suffer them to be together, to prevent them from forming a plan, which might defeat their object. Being separately examined at Gnadenhutten in council, by the half king, and nothing being found on them prejudicial to the war party, they were dismissed.

The fact was, these brethren had gone for no other purpose to Pittsburg, than to inform the commandant of that place, of the situation they were in—also, that through him, the Brethren at Bethlehem might be apprised of the danger they were in, and be prepared to hear the worst. The message they delivered, was verbal, and in these words : "We are beset by upwards of three hundred warriors of differ-

ent nations, who are determined on taking us away from our settlements, on the Muskingum; and declare that if this cannot be affected, by fair means, they will murder us, and carry our scalps off—we are resigned to our fate." The two colonels, Broadhead and Gibson, enquiring of the messengers, if we expected an armed force to come to our relief, were answered in the negative; and both these officers very properly saw, that such a measure would not be advisable, but rather tend to our destruction.

In the second attempt made by the half king on the 25th of August, to persuade the Christian Indians, to leave their settlements, and go with him, he held a somewhat frightening language, saying: "that it was impossible for us to escape the danger which awaited us, in remaining here, that the Six Nations would not suffer us to stay! That the Chippewas and Ottawas would fall upon us, and destroy us all!—that even were those nations to let us alone, still the long knives (Virginians) would certainly one day fall upon and kill us; for that in these, there was no sincerity, &c."

To this speech the Christian Indians again remonstrated, "that they bore too hard upon them, as to go at the present time, would reduce them to misery! they having a large harvest out, some thousand bushels of corn besides vegetables of various kinds, which would all be lost to them! and it appeared to them ungenerous, to deprive their women and children

with themselves of the necessaries of life, when *they* saw no occasion for it!" (to which the half king listened in silence).

At this time it was believed, that, had the half king and captain Pipe been at liberty to act according to their inclinations; they would have withdrawn their men, they perceiving that they were in the wrong. The latter also knew that many of his men had protested against such proceedings, and even declared, that they would not be idle spectators, if they saw any of their friends, or even their teachers whom they equally considered *their* friends, molested.—Captain Elliot however, kept them alarmed; and to cause a beginning to be made, pretended to be under apprehensions, of an armed force of Virginians coming upon them, before they were aware of it; when, the rabble among them, taking the hint, now began to commit outrages, by shooting fowls, hogs, and even horned cattle, as they were passing by, or feeding within their reach. The chiefs, on the other hand, had fallen on the stratagem of trying how it would work, upon the whole, were they to effect a division among the Christian Indians. Accordingly, the most artful of their party were employed amongst the timid, and weaker class of them, and having first impressed their minds with the apprehension that, if they remained here longer, they would assuredly be murdered: they next gave them such an enchanting description of the country

they intended to take them to, that they excited a desire in them to be there already, and nothing appeared to prevent their immediate departure but, the assurance that their teachers would go with them; whilst others, more unguardedly would say: "we look to our teachers; what *they* do, we likewise will do!"—which thoughtless expressions, although they had meant no harm to their teachers, were quickly considered as the *real* cause why the Christian Indians would not go with them, and from this time, the whole blame was laid on the missionaries, who now became the main object of the hatred and resentment of the savages.

The situation therefore, in which the missionaries now were, was not only precarious, but dangerous. The timid part of the congregation, which were not a tenth part of the whole, wished them to consent to go with the savages, while all the others declared, that they would rather die on the spot, than plunge themselves with their families, in such misery. Neither would they even listen to the arguments which their timid brethren made use of for the purpose of bringing them over to their views; nay, they even continued *in* their daily labour, of building and repairing houses, setting fences, &c. And although the enemy ascribed all this to the influence of the missionaries over their relatives (the Christian Indians:) yet, the missionaries durst not venture to decide in behalf of all, for fear of offending the one or the other side,

but thought it most prudent to await the issue, and not go with the savages, unless by compulsion; *that*, should the congregation be brought to distress and misery, the missionaries might not be liable to blame and reproached on that account.

By this time the heads of the savages had held several consultations on the best and surest mode of proceeding, to attain their object. One proposal was that of killing the missionaries at once,—another, that of killing at the same time the principal, or leading men of the Christian Indians. A sorcerer being consulted, on each of these proposals, he so terrified them by his threats, that they gave up the designs; but what troubled them most, was, their frequently being told by some of their own party; that the Christian Indians were so attached to their teachers, they would never suffer violent hands to be laid on them, but would defend them, even at the risk of their own lives.

Elliot, supposing the war chiefs were wavering, and likely to abandon the design altogether, now thought of another, and last experiment, namely, he told them, that they had already made the American people their enemies, by fighting against them; of course, from these they never hereafter could expect any favours; and now, by not obeying their father's commands, who always had so abundantly supplied their wants, they would create themselves *another* enemy. Thus between two powerful enemies, they, with their wives and children, must eventually perish. He added, that he

now asked them for the last time, whether or not they would do for their father, what he wanted them to do! —if they would not, he would immediately mount his horse, and proceed on to their father at Detroit, when immeditely all connection between him and them would cease; he considering them as his enemies! he even pretended to set out immediately for Detroit, which they perceiving, desired him to stay only a few days longer, and they would do what he wanted.

Accordingly they now for the last time, called on the national assistants of the three towns, to come with their teachers, once more to hear what they had to say. While mounting my horse at Salem, to go to Gnadenhutten for the purpose, Elliot's attendant, who at the time was here, came up to me and whispered in my ear, that he "wished we could contrive our escape to the settlements, since nothing was more certain than, if we went to Gnadenhutten, we would be all taken prisoners, or killed, before to-morrow night!" After replying: that what he wished us to do, was out of our power; I asked him, whether the goods captain Elliott had brought with him, were intended for rewarding the warriors, when they had done the business he wanted them to do? To which he replied; "While we were packing up the goods (two horse loads) I heard him say that with these goods he expected to make the greatest *speck* he ever had made; that the Moravian Indians had at each of their towns great stocks of horned cattle, which when once dis-

tressed by the warriors, he could purchase of them for a song ; (a few dollars per head,) while he would get forty dollars a head at Detroit."

On our arrival at Gnadenhutten, September 2d. we plainly saw the change that had taken place since our last meeting ; a great part of the warriors appearing surly, and some impudent, as if ready for mischief. The stench in the town, occasioned from the cattle they had shot down, was almost intolerable. Some of the savages, would, in passing by the missionary's house, wave their spears, and other weapons, as if they wish-to frighten us, or perhaps to show us, that they were ready for the job. At length the national assistants were called to appear before the council, when the half king demanded of them, a prompt answer in the affirmative, or negative, whether they would go with him ; to which they replied, that they should abide by the answer given him, at the last meeting ; these brethren were immediately dismissed.

The savages now went into secret council, sitting close during the greater part of the night, when again the proposal of murdering us, and destroying the towns, was suggested, as the only means of detaching their friends and relations, (the Christian Indians) from the spot, (and the improvements on it,) to which they had become so attached ; yet, this proposal was also rejected,—principally on the ground, that the Christian Indians, when driven to despair, might use their arms

against them, and a general slaughter ensue, which could answer no purpose, but that of destroying themselves.

The missionaries, having early on the morning of the third of September, learnt by one of the national assistants, (whose information came direct from a trusty person, who had been admitted to the secret council of the last night) what had been concluded upon, plainly saw what awaited them, and would be their fate, in the course of the day. Nevertheless, the congregation met as usual, on this morning at eight o'clock, for divine service, at which, exclusive of the members of the congregation, a great number of the savages also attended; the chapel doors having been thrown open, for the benefit of those without. After the singing part was performed, in which the whole congregation as with one voice had joined; the missionary Zeisberger, took his text from the fifty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, and eighth verse, and delivered a most emphatic discourse on the great love of God towards man, and the pains he takes to bring sinners to repentance, and make them a happy people. He took a general retrospect of the ways of the Lord with his people from the beginning.—his delivering the children of Israel from bondage; and the means he made use of to make them a great and happy people setting forth their happy state, while they continued to be obedient to his commandments; and the unhappy and wretched condition they at times brought

upon themselves by their disobedience,—by becoming distrustful and jealous, murmuring and showing a rebellious spirit ;—by their inclination to heathenism, and attempts to introduce idolatrous practices ; making images to worship, instead of looking up to, and worshiping that good and gracious God, who so miraculously had delivered them from slavery ;—was leading them to a country far exceeding any they had seen before :—supplying their wants abundantly from day to day, and granting them strength and support ; all which benefits they despised, depending on their own strength, and listening to false prophets ;—shewing ungratefulness, mistrust and even enmity against their faithful leader Moses, whom God himself had appointed, and who constantly had their welfare at heart ; and had, by his supplication and tears, appeased the Lord, when in his warth he had declared that he would destroy them, &c.—Then turning his discourse to the present time—to the work of God among the many heathen nations, as in Greenland, Labrador, the cape of Good Hope, in the west India islands—in South America, and where we were, from which, altogether, thousands were already assembled before the throne of the Lord, glorifying his name ; while thousands were at present yet beneath, under his guidance, in the hopes of enjoying the same happiness hereafter; and to which number we here, through his grace, also belonged !—And shall *we* (continued the faithful missionary), we who have also been

brought out of darkness to the light—who have experienced the goodness of the Lord, and in so many instances, been witnesses of his protecting hand over us, his people—*we*, who have manfully braved so many storms, and the threatenings of the children of darkness; never yet being disappointed in our hope! shall we forget all this!—Did we not frequently hear the same threats?—were we not told time after time, what would be done to us, if we did not leave the habitations where we were, and go and live among the heathen; and did we obey them?—and were we ever molested by them on that account?—No! and why not! because we were united to put our trust in the Lord, and depend on *his* protection!—and why not continue in the *same* faith!—why not place the same trust in him, believe that he is both able and willing to protect us at all times!—Have we grown weaker in faith instead of stronger?—Shall we give the heathen cause to mock and laugh at us? saying: "these *pretend* to believe what they believe not!—No! my brethren and sisters! we will not only abide in that faith, which we through grace have received; but we will endeavour, to grow stronger therein!—even death itself shall not rob us of this treasure. And though in times of old, the Lord did sometimes "hide his face" as it were, from his people—did even permit the heathen to chastise them a little, when they had become indifferent, and disobedient towards him, or departed from his ways: yet, when they repented,

he, in his mercy turned to them again. So be it unto us also, but particulary to those among us, who at this present time, have suffered themselves to be led astray or so become overwhelmed by timidity and fear, that they rather choose to submit to the dictates of the heathen for their preservation, than to rely on *Him*, who hath all power, both on earth and in heaven : on *Him*, who is able to withstand satan with his whole host, &c.

The missionary then concluded by saying : We are now, my brethren and sisters, placed in a situation, hitherto unparelleled ! Surrounded by a body of heathen !—Some enemies to the gospel, who threaten us, with taking our lives, if we do not go with them and make them our near neighbours ! Not being at liberty to act for ourselves, we must submit to our fate, and trust, that the Lord will still hold his hand over us, and not forsake us !—We will remain quiet, and abide the consequences, it not becoming children of God to put themselves on a level with the heathen in making use of weapons, for our defence ! Neither will we hate our enemies, on this account, who know not what they are doing ! We, as Christians will pray for them, that the Lord may open their eyes, and turn their hearts from all evil ways—perhaps we may yet have the pleasure of seeing some of those, who are now our enemies, repent and join themselves to our flock.

The universal attention, during the delivery of this very remarkable discourse, was truly striking. The

worthy missionary, though with a grieved heart, spoke with freedom and force, as though none were present but his own congregation. The chapel interpreter, Joachim, being well versed in scripture, and catching with correctness, both the words and substance of what was spoken; delivered himself, in such an astonishing and affecting manner, that the whole congregation, and with these many of the savages of the Delaware nation present were in tears.

Note. It is but proper to remark, that the lenient manner in which the missionaries, were upon the whole treated (as will be seen in the sequel), when compared with the treatment other prisoners meet with by warriors, may in a great measure, if not wholly, be ascribed to the charge given to the congregation, at the latter part of the discourse, whereby the savages were satisfied, that they had nothing to dread from the Christian Indians, as they had so often been told, would be the case. And the soothing call of the missionary, to his congregation, even to pray for their enemies, did eventually satisfy them, and put their minds at ease;—while to the congregation, the same was equally seasonable, as many of the brethren were ready to risk their lives in defending their teachers, considering it a duty to protect them at all hazards. Now, had the brethren been left to act as they intended, what may be supposed would have been the consequence? even the firing of a gun or two, at such as laid hands on their teachers, would

have brought on a massacre on both sides, by which every missionary present must have fallen, exclusive of Christian Indians.—The murdering disposition of many of the savages, was evident in their countenances, and it required but little provocation to excite it into action.

After service, several of the savages who had been present at the meeting, came and shook hands with the missionaries, signifying both friendship and commiseration for them, while others, principally Wyandots and Monseys, would enter their house for the purpose of examining what it contained.

About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the town was alarmed by the shrieks and yells of the savages, who were all runing full speed towards the river, which led us to believe that some outrage had already been committed. However the alarm was occasioned by captain Elliot's ostler, who in watering a horse, had fallen in deep water; the man in the fright, (occasioned principally by the yells of the savages, which made him forget himself) drew the reins so tight, that the horse could not swim, but sunk with the rider. Two Ottaway Indians, quicker than other bystanders, plunged into the river, and swimming to the spot, extricated the man, who was hanging to the horse's neck, and brought both man and horse to shore, though much exhausted.

Shortly after we had dined, Zeisberger, Senseman and myself, walked behind the garden, towards the

burying ground, where, after standing a few minutes, with our faces towards the town, the head captain of the Monseys, came in great haste up to us, and accosted Zeisberger in the words: "wilt thou devote thyself solely to the service of the Monseys, as their teacher?"—to which a quick reply being made by a bystander, that we being as one family, could not separate: he stepped a few paces back, as a signal for three Wyandots, who lay concealed close behind the fence, and who in an instant rushed upon us, each taking his man prisoner, and immediately marched us towards the camp, which was about one hundred yards distant, on the way to which an ugly looking Wyandot, who ran up for the purpose, aimed several blows with his tomahawk at the head of Senseman, who, however, by means of his agility, escaped unhurt. We were straightway taken to captain Elliot's camp in the centre, as though we had been taken prisoners for him.

Whether from political motives they had done this as meaning thereby to show, that they acted under his (Elliot's) orders, and solely for him (and that he of course must reward them for it)—or; whether they thereby meant to proclaim to the Christian Indians and us, that they were not to blame for what they had done, but the man under whose orders they had acted was unknown to us. One thing however appeared certain viz. that the act of bringing the prisoners direct to Elliot, strengthened the belief of us all that it

was done by his orders, moreover it so confused, or confounded him that he had not the command of words, to make a suitable apology, or to hide his hypocrisy. All he could do, was by saying that, such things were not intended—that the commandant at Detroit had not ordered it so—that things were going the wrong way—that it had not been expected that they would treat us so roughly, that their orders had been, to bring us off, but that Indians would do things their own way, &c.—telling these men in the Shawanese language, to take us away to their camp.

We were then taken to the line in the centre, which divided the Wyandot and Delaware camps from each other, and the scalp yell was sounded the same as was done the instant we arrived at Elliot's tent, each of the men who had taken us, sounding a yell for his man. Our being turned off by Elliot, upon the hands of the warriors put us now entirely into their power—those men who had taken, and brought us in, left us standing, and went their way, but the yells they had given, signifying as much as that, they had done their part, roused the whole body, who in an instant were up, with their arms in readiness, to fire upon us as soon as orders should be given for that purpose. Yet withal, several of them appeared to be panic struck, as it was expected, that the Christian Indians would rise, and endeavour to rescue their teachers.—After we had been standing a few minutes

in the manner they had placed us, several Wyandots came up and stripped us of our best clothes, took our watches, buckels sleeve-buttons, &c. Next came up a dark looking Monsey, and taking us, one after the other, by the hair of the head, shaking us with all his force, said, (while in the act of shaking:) "Quawan-gomel Nimat! which is: *I salute thee my brother!* then turning to me, he began to strip me of my shirt, saying: "Friend! I am much in want of a shirt, and must have yours!" but before he had effected his purpose, a Delaware of note belonging to the party, seeing what he was about, ran up and pushing him from me with force, said, "coward! begone! what harm have these people done you? you are always foremost where there is no danger!"

We three prisoners were now in a manner separated, David Zeisberger and myself were taken into custody by Kuhn,* the Wyandot war chief from Lower Sandusky, and Senseman was taken by the notorious war captain of the same nation, named Snip, from Upper Sandusky, who immediately set about making a pair of stocks, for keeping him from running away, however by persuasion, and assuring him that he would not attempt to escape, he relinquished his intention.

The huts we were placed in, were merely roofs of bark placed on poles to keep the rain off from above, the sides and ends, being open; in each hut however,

* For an account of this chief, see Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, chap. xviii. page 163.

about twenty-five men could lay down to sleep, though on the bare ground. We were near enough to speak to each other, but durst not venture, for fear the warriors might suspect us of consulting on the manner of effecting our escape. Being near half an hour in confinement; during which time there appeared a great commotion among the savages; we all of a sudden heard the word given, to start, when in an instant, about thirty armed Wyandots, commanded by the war chief Kuhn, under a volley of shrieks and yells, set off for Salem. For me, this was a most afflicting scene, knowing that their object must be, the taking of my wife and child, together with brother Young; and that of robbing my house. The anxiety I felt on this account, is indiscribable.

Near an hour had elapsed, before we knew what had become of our fellow labourer Edwards, whom we had left in the house at the time we walked to the back of the garden, from whence we had been taken prisoners. He now came by himself, walking through the warriors' encampment, in search of us, and seeing his fellow labourer Senseman by himself, he chose to stay with him. It appeared that the Savages did not intend making a prisoner of this brother, as his age and appearance satisfied them, that he would not attempt an escape. Edwards reported, that shortly after we had left the house, a number of warriors had entered, and beginning to plunder, one of them in a friendly manner, had taken him by the hand, and led

him into the street, saying, that he must not return to the house again; for all that was within it, belonged to them.

The evening drawing nigh, we were ignorant how we should fare during the night, having neither cloaths on our backs, nor a single blanket to wrap ourselves in. Added to this, the weather, which had been mild and clear in the forenoon, had since become overcast with clouds, and at intervals a little rain. However, the good Indian sisters had not forgot us, they brought both victuals and blankets, to cover us during the night. In the morning, when they brought our breakfast, they took the blankets back with them to prevent their being taken from us during the day. They also remained with us whilst we eat; apprehending that the Indians would take our victuals if we were left alone.

Gnadenhutten and Salem, being situated on the Muskingum, the bells, and barking of dogs, in the one place, could be distinctly heard at the other, during calm weather, particularly at Gnadenhutten, which lay on a high bluff. This being a very close and calm night, we, at our camps, distinctly heard the scalp yell sounded, at Salem, by the party who were gone to that place, and who had effected their object, although the distance was between five and six miles; yet, every time they, while returning in triumph, from this expedition, renewed the scalp whoop, it was heard, by those who had at our station,

who sounded theirs in reply; by which means, both parties, although distant from each other, were in a manner conveying intelligence, and congratulating each other on their victories. The nearer those coming from Salem, approached, the more terrible their yells sounded to my ears. That three persons had fallen into their hands at Salem, the three yells they gave at each time, confirmed; but whether they were alive, or had been murdered by them, could not be known until their arrival. What *we* call the scalp yell, merely signifies the number of persons who have fallen into their hands; not conveying the intelligence whether they are dead or alive.* At length, (near midnight,) the party arrived with Michael Young, whom they placed aside of us. This brother, on finding us also prisoners, addressed us thus: "good evening my brethren! our earthly career appears to be near its end, and we on the borders of eternity! Well, if they put us to death, we die in a good cause!"—then turning to me he added: your wife and child are safe; the Indian sisters having begged the warriors, to place them under their care for the night, they consented under a promise, that they would bring them to Gnadenhutten on the next day.

On Michael Young's perceiving the savages coming towards my house, (which, besides himself contained my family,) he secured the door within.

*See Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, chap. xxvii.

The Indians finding the door bolted, loudly demanded entrance, which not being complied with, they broke it open with their war hatchets; and on entering, one man aimed a blow with his tomahawk, at brother Young's head, which stroke however, was happily prevented by Kuhn, the chief; who, at the instant, run his arm under the shaft of the hatchet, pushing it out of the direction it was aimed. They then took this brother, together with my wife and child prisoners, and placing them in the street, set guards over them, while they were plundering the house; and here, as they had done at Guadenhutten, they emptied the feathers out of the beds, and the coffee, they found in a bag, all into the street, in order to get the tickens and bag, for other uses.

During a long and dreadful night, while we were lying upon the bare sod, with our eyes steadfastly fixed on the east, that we might catch the first glimpse of the morning light to revive our drooping spirits, the sound of the scalp yell was heard to the north, in the direction of Shonbrun, (though at a great distance,) it not only checked our prospects, but brought the whole body of savages into motion. That something had taken place at Shonbrun, was our first conclusion. There it was, that the wives of Zeisberger and Senseman, (now prisoners) were left, together with the missionary Youngman and his wife. The nearer the war party drew, the greater was the commotion throughout the warriors encampment; the scalp yell being

sounded, and resounded from both sides, it seemed to indicate, that when we were all brought together, the scene would end in the massacre of the whole. That many of the savages expected this, we were not ignorant of, yet, under all these circumstances, and trials, we were wholly resigned to the will of the Lord.

At length, after repeated yells from the two parties, namely, from those coming, and those here, the former arrived by water, with the missionary Youngman and wife, sisters Zeisberger and Senseman; the latter with her young babe, only four days old. Immediately, as a welcome, the scalp yell was given ten times, being intended for all the brethren and sisters in the service of this mission, together with the two children, which made that number, now prisoners with them. Yet, at the particular request of the Indian women of the place, these latter were permitted, to lodge at the house of brother Shabosh, though not without having previously made a promise, that they would be accountable for their not running away.

The brethren and sisters from Shonbrun, related, that late in the evening of yesterday, after they had retired to bed, a call was made upon them from the street, to open the door, to hear something that would interest them. They being ignorant what had passed at Gnadenhutten on that day, complied; when one* of the party addressed them thus: "Your friends

* This man was a noted villain of the Wyandot nation—and was hated for his bad character, yet in *this* instance, he was serving the party.

the teachers, are all prisoners, with the warriors; and in a short time, a large body of them will be here to take you also, and to rob you of your property!—We have therefore, thought fit to apprise you of the danger you are in, at the same time making you the offer, that if you will submit yourselves to our protection, and deliver your effects to us, we will not suffer any person to molest you, or touch your property."

The brethren considering them as friends, especially as they had a woman with them, who appeared much concerned for their safety; they complied, and even helped to pack up their effects, but they were undeceived when they saw them carrying their property to a large canoe they had in readiness,—and were commanded to go immediately with them, whether they were willing or not. Pleading the case of the missionary Senseman's wife, she being delivered of a child but three days before; they said that did not make any difference, for she must go with the rest, and commanded her to rise immediately, as they wanted the bedding. Then, having emptied the feathers into the street, and making an attempt likewise to rob the church of the bell, candlesticks, &c.—(from doing which, they however were prevented by the Indian brethren;) they now hurried them, as their prisoners, to the river to embark. Thus, in a dark night, with intervals of rain, they were taken down the river to the mouth of still water creek, the

half of the way to Gnadenhutten, where they put up for the night, the prisoners having nothing but the ground to lie upon, and scarcely any thing to cover themselves.

The Indian sisters arriving about 10 o'clock with my wife and child, from Salem, as they had promised the preceding day, another opportunity was afforded the warriors, of sounding their yells. The flood of tears shed by the former, on seeing the condition we were in, caused such a sensation on both sides, that we were at a loss what to say to each other. The good Indian sisters, by their supplications, procured permission for my wife and child, to join the other sisters, at Shabosh's house.

The plunder brought from Salem on the last night was divided among all the Indians belonging to our camps. A young Wyandot, to whom a new castor hat, a pair of stockings and a cravat were given, came with these articles straightway to me, and delivered them up. I had frequently observed this young man casting looks of commiseration on us, and now recognised him to be the same, who had accompanied the great Wyandot chief* from Detroit, who paid us, whilst at Lichtenau, such interesting visits, as have already been noticed in this narrative.

The Christian Indians representing our condition to captain Pipe, in having no clothes on our backs,

*See for this Wyandot chief, Heckewelder's History of the American Indians, chapter xviii. and xliv. page 337.

with the request that he would cause some of the plundered articles to be restored to us, he immediately called on his people for the purpose, when it was found, that the Delawares had not participated in the plunder, but that the Wyandots had been the active body in distressing and plundering us. An old coat which they had cut off at the waist, was returned to me and was very acceptable.

Captain Elliot, who we ascertained, had for a trifle bought up every pair of new shoes belonging to us, could not be prevailed on to return even a single pair, he declaring, that he did not know what had become of them. This loss, was distressing to those among us, who laboured under rheumatic pains, and had to guard against the damp and wet.

A party of the Wyandots, who had gone to Salem in the forenoon, now returned with plenty of honey, some of which they set before us. They had gone there for the purpose of searching my house once more for plunder, and of destroying my beehives, and cutting up the cabbage heads, beets, &c. in the garden.

About four o'clock in the afternoon of the second day of our captivity (September 4), the attention of of the savages was again directed to a quarter, from whence the scalp yell was sounded; and which proved to be a party of those warriors, who had some time before, been sent to the Ohio river, for the purpose of watching the motions of the Americans—and were now on their return with a prisoner. This white

prisoner being brought within two or three yards of us, to undergo an examination, we could distinctly hear all that he reported, as also his answers to questions put to him by captain Pipe and others. The whole of his statement went to criminate the Christian Indians and their ministers, as being friendly disposed to the people of the United States, and enemies to those Indians who warred against them. He added, that they were the cause that they (the warriors) so often failed in their attempts; as these Moravian Indians, informed the people living on the Ohio river, of every party of warriors that were coming against them: —that they had at present, sent word into the settlement, that a large body of warriors were at their towns, &c.; all which we distinctly heard him say, and were looking him full in the face while he spoke. Even captain Pipe signified to him that the people he was accusing, were now in his custody as prisoners; upon hearing which, he now and then cast a glance around, and also upon us.

While this man was standing on the same spot, captain Pipe called aloud to his men to rise and hear. In an instant the whole body of warriors were on their legs, loading their pieces, as though they expected the word "Fire" to be given. Pipe then pointing to the man, and relating with some vehemence, what he had accused the "Moravian" (Christian) Indians and their teachers of, concluded by saying: "but my warriors! we have no orders to destroy them! we are only to

take them away from this place !—and whatever their teachers have been guilty of—our father at Detroit, will best know in what manner to punish them !"—The prisoner was then taken off without being in the least insulted ;—his dress was the same, as other prisoners in a similar situation, just sufficient to cover his nakedness.

Note. In the spring of the year 1789, while I, (the writer of this,) was, by invitation, at the house of Mr. Barr, (a minister of the gospel at Pittsburg,) the subject of conversation turning on civilizing the Indians, and the example of the Moravian (Christian) Indians being introduced as satisfactory proof, that the measure was practicable, &c.—a man* from the country, well dressed stepped into the room where we were sitting, and, on being informed by the minister, (who knew him) that we were speaking of the Moravian Indians, instantly took the thread, and in a most violent manner, accused these "Moravian Indians," as *he* called them, of having been the most dangerous enemy the United States had in that quarter, during the revolutionary war; adding, that the killing of so many of them at the Moravian towns, in the spring of the year 1782, was a very good act, and it was to be regretted, that their whole body, together with the white men who lived with them, had not shared the same fate with the others. He added, that white

* The *same* person who had been brought in prisoner on the second day of our captivity.

people, who would live with such murderers, as these "Moravian Indians" were, deserved no better treatment, let them be called ministers or otherwise. He then added, that the Moravian Indians had taken him prisoner in that war, and brought him to their town, where, having stripped him naked, they abused him, and made him run the gauntlet, beating him most unmercifully, &c.

The man having proceeded thus far, in reporting manifest falsehoods, I could not suffer the imposition to pass in silence; therefore, stepping forward to where he was sitting, I asked him several questions, respecting what he had said, to learn whether I had understood him right. On being satisfied on that head, I put the question to him, in what year, and month, he had been taken, and to which of the Moravian towns, he was taken a prisoner!—He replied, that to the 4th day of September, in the year 1781, he was brought to the middle Moravian town, and there treated by the "Moravian Indians," in the manner he related; which satisfied me, that I was not mistaken in the man, whom I had at first sight recognized. I therefore, in the presence of the minister, charged him with being an impostor; at the same time, making myself known to him: I added, that I was one of those ministers, whom he had seen at that time, prisoners, and lay close to him when he underwent an examination by captain Pipe, respecting the "Moravian Indians," and

their teachers; whom he accused of being "*friends to the American people*, and enemies to the Indians, who warred against them—that they, (the Moravian Indians,) gave warning to the people on the Ohio, whenever a war party was going against them." Observing to him, that he must have known at the time he was brought in, that the "Moravian Indians," were also prisoners to the great body of warriors he saw there, and the questions put to him, by captain Pipe, respecting the "Moravian Indians," afforded him sufficient opportunity to know this, and his answers to those questions, proved, he *did* know it, and that he himself had witnessed the scene which followed, in consequence of *his* testimony: namely, when the whole body of warriors flew to their arms, to *shoot* us!

The man appeared thunder struck, when he was told that I was on the spot at the time. In fact, the story of his being stripped naked, &c. was a palpable falsehood. He was treated by them more like a man favouring *their* cause, and as such, taken immediately away.

The minister being called out while I was speaking, he made an attempt to apologize, but turning myself from him, I declared, that I avoided the company of such men as he appeared to be. After he had withdrawn, the minister observed to me, that he had many times heard the Moravian Indians, charged with having been, while they lived on the Muskingum, enemies

to the American people. I leave it to the reader of this narrative to decide on this improbable story.

Expecting that the troubles of the day were now over, our minds became easy, and we calculated on enjoying some sleep, not having closed our eyes during the last night. A circumstance, however, occurred in the course of the day, (of which we had not the least knowledge,) and which gave rise to another restless night; viz. According to the custom of the savages, they daily sent some of their young men into the woods, (where their horses were at pasture,) to examine whether they were all there, or any missing. This time they missed captain Pipe's famous riding horse, the fleetest among the whole; and on enquiry, they discovered that the horse was taken off by a *woman*, who was gone to Pittsburg. After much consultation, who that person could be, it was supposed to have been one of the wives of the missionaries, who had gone to Pittsburg for the purpose of urging troops, to come out to their relief, and the idea was no sooner suggested, than the report was circulated, that some of the missionaries' wives had disappeared. On this report, I was awakened in the night by the war chief Kuhn, who demanded of me, what had become of some of our women, for one or more of them, had certainly gone off! Assuring him, that this could not be the case, he commanded me to rise, and go immediately with him, to where I supposed them to be, or he would not be-

lieve me, adding: "You will find that at least one of them is gone off," and calling on another warrior, to accompany him, we went to the house where they lodged. The men, modestly stopping at the door of the house, to which I had taken them. I then called, to awaken the missionaries' wives, desiring the men to step into the house to satisfy themselves, that I had told them the truth! Kuhn replying, "that as he saw all four, of them from where he stood, and had heard their different voices, he must believe me!" They then took me again to my quarters, and he returned to the council, (which was sitting,) to make report of what he had seen and heard; which perfectly satisfied them that *we* were all safe.

The council however, still suspecting, that the missionaries had sent letters by some person, to solicit relief from Pittsburg, became so enraged, that they again spoke of murdering us, which one of the Christian Indian women hearing, told her husband, that yesterday in the forenoon, whilst she was getting fire wood out of the woods, she had observed *such* a young woman, sitting on a log weeping aloud, that stepping up, to learn what occasioned her weeping, she replied: that "the hard treatment those good white people had met with by the warriors, had so overwhelmed her with grief, that she could not sleep last night; and that she never would be able to forget it!"—This being immediately made known to captain Pipe, he had the woman examined; and finding

that this was the whole of what she knew respecting the other, and that at the time, she did not suspect that the other had any thing in view, (as many of our Indian women had, on the occasion, discovered the same feelings,) they now sent spies to Salem, to enquire whether the woman alluded to was with her mother, and if not, when she had been there last. On being informed that she had left her mother's house immediately, on learning what had been done to the teachers of the Christian Indians, and did not even intimate where she was going to: suspicion fell on Isaac Glickhican* uncle of the woman,† that he had sent her off privately. They were rejoiced, to get a hold of this man, whom they both hated and dreaded. Hating him, on account of his conversion; and dreading him as a man, who prior to his joining the Christian Indians, had been, both in council and in the field, superior to many of their ablest characters.

Sixteen of the bravest Delawares were ordered on an Expedition, to take this (single) man—if possible alive—if otherwise to bring his scalp—these with shrieks and yells—all mounted on horseback, galloped off for Salem; and in a few hours brought him, with his hands tied on his back, to the half king;

* The same man of whom frequent mention is made in this narrative; as also in Heckewelder's Historical Account of Indian nations.

† This young woman did not belong to the society, but had come here on a visit to her mother, and other relatives.

when, after a strict examination being made, and his innocence fully proved, he was acquitted, although loaded with reproaches by his enemies, and the rabble.

On the arrival of the party at Salem, they surrounded the house, at such a distance as they thought would prevent his escaping them, but fearing to enter, they watched for his coming out. Isaac seeing them from the inside, stepped out, and addressed them thus : " Friends ! by your manoeuvres, I conclude you are come for me ! if so, why do you hesitate ! obey your orders ! I am ready to submit ! you appear to dread *Glickhican*, as formerly known to you ! yes ! there *was* a time, when I would have scorned to have been assailed in the manner you meditate ; but I am no more Glickhican* ! I am *Isaac* now, a believer in the true and living God ; and for whose sake I am willing to suffer any thing—even death !"—then stepping up to them with his hands placed on his back, he said, you want to tie me, and take me along, do so."—With trembling hands they tied him, and took him off.—In passing by our camp at Gnadenhutten, while they were taking him to the half king, he addressed us : " a good morning my brethren !"—to which we replied : " good morning fellow prisoner, be of good cheer !"—" Yes ! yes ! (said he in reply) I am so."—

* " Glickhican," was his *original* Indian name, the word signifies the stud, or sight on a gun barrel.

Note. A gracious providence may be considered as having overruled the good disposition, and first intention of the commandant at Pittsburg; who, on the representation made to him by the woman, had at first, resolved to send a strong force out to our relief, but was afterwards induced to abandon the design, on the supposition that it would be too late; or might fail in obtaining the desired object; which, no doubt at this time, would have been the case, it not being an easy matter to attack such a body of Indians by surprise, as they have their spies out, watching the movements of their enemy.

The Indian brethren, who, to prevent suspicion, had hitherto very properly avoided visiting us while under confinement, being not the less anxious to learn our situation would, from day to day, send the sisters to the camps with victuals, tobacco &c. Philipina, who had taken the lead in this service was never at a loss for assistants, to carrying out our breakfast coffee, and other victuals, together with blankets for the night, with all which we were abundantly supplied. We had also, by the intercession of these sisters, obtained permission to visit our familes once a day, for a quarter of an hour; yet, with the promise, that we would not run off with them; and for which the Indian sisters, who were our conductors, had become responsible.

Our masters—(I mean those who had us under their custody) had by this time become somewhat sociable,

and showed some compassion for us. Indeed, it appeared as if they were sorry for what they had done, and no doubt some felt so.—What incommoded us most was their custom of repeating the scalp yell so often, for each of their prisoners, during night as well as in the day time; but, this is a general custom with them, and is continued, until the prisoner is liberated, or killed. Another very incommoding custom they have, is that of performing their war dances and songs, during the night, near their prisoners; all which we had to endure, exclusive of being thereby prevented from enjoying sleep. Otherwise the addresses paid us by a jovial, and probably harmless Ottawa Indian, who, having obtained of the Wyandott warriors, sufficient of our clothes, to dress himself like a white man; and placing a white night cap on his head, being mounted on a horse, would ride through the camps, nodding to us every time he passed; caused much amusement through the camp, and in some measure, to us also.

The national assistants of the place, had hitherto waited with anxiety for the moment, when they might with some prospect of success, (by supplication,) procure us our liberty. Marcus, particularly, of the Mohagan tribe, possessing a soft and engaging address, gained so much influence with the Delaware chiefs, Pipe and Wingemund; that they promised him, that if we should give them satisfactory answers to a few questions they wished to ask, we should be set at

liberty. Being shortly after brought before the chiefs for the purpose, (Elliot being present) questions were put to us ; namely : " Whether we were willing to go with them to Sandusky ? Whether we would also encourage our Indians to go with us ? and lastly : Whether we would promise, that we would not run away from them ?"—all which being answered to their satisfaction, they declared us free to go and stay with our families in the town. On my asking leave to go to Salem on the following morning, to provide for the reception of the Christian Indians, who would follow in a day or two. Pipe replied : " *go !*—and tell your people there, that they must leave off working, and must get provision for the journey ! for, when you come there, you will find them building new houses, as though nothing was the matter !" Kuhn and Snip, under whose custody we were, being officially notified of our liberation, we took lodging in the houses of our Indian Brethren, who, together with the sisters and children came to welcome us, with tears in their eyes.

On the next morning (the 7th), captain Elliot called on me to ride with him to Salem, as was agreed on the preceeding day. On our way thither, he took much pains to remove from my mind, any unfavourable impression I might have of him, owing to his having had any agency in the misfortunes, and treatment we had met with. Not choosing to open my mind to him on the subject, at this time, I barely observed :

that I could not see into the heart of man, but that there was a just God who could do this.

On our arrival at Salem, every soul belonging to the village, ran to bid me welcome, many weeping; and the little children clung to me as though they would not let me go again. Elliot, on seeing this, either from conviction or shame, turned aside, saying, "this is what I never would have expected to witness!"—The sisters soon brought victuals, tea, coffee, &c. each striving to excel the other, in acts of kindness.—It was a hard task for me to make known to the congregation, that we had all to go with the warriors to Sandusky, and that it was only on our promising that we would do so, that we had obtained our liberty. The national assistant, Samuel Moore, had only this day finished shingling his new spacious dwelling house, built of squared timbers. My house and garden, made a very gloomy appearance, the warriors having destroyed every thing they could lay their hands on, both in the house and in the garden.

On the next day (September 8th), not only all the missionaries, with their families, but also a number of the Christian Indians from Gnadenhutten and Shonbrun, arrived here, some coming by land with the cattle, and others by water with baggage and provisions, and on the day following, the remainder of the brethren and sisters, from both those places, came on in like manner.

Our Indians had already, from the day we were

made prisoners, prepared for the event, which now took place, they had buried all their heavy articles, such as plough irons, harrow teeth, grubbing hoes, cross cut and whip saws, pewter and kitchen articles, &c. in the woods, which labour they had to do in the night, apprehensive of being discovered.—As this is a general custom with Indians, when they emigrate—The savages, now supposed this to have been the case with the Christian Indians. The half king, therefore, with upwards of one hundred of his men, suffered the Christian Indians to go on without him, leaving them in the charge of captain Pipe and his men, whilst he searched the woods at both places, for buried or hidden articles, of which they found much, by tracing the footsteps to the places, where the articles were hidden, or buried.

The three congregations, being now assembled at Salem, the gospel was again preached publicly ; a catechumen baptised ; and the holy sacrament administered to the communicants ; during which, a most extraordinary sensation of the presence of the Lord, comforted their hearts. All were exhorted to stand firm, and show their faithfulness in the hours of trial and temptation.

The Delawares, of the party under captain Pipe's command, (who were our guard,) conducted themselves in a becoming manner, both to us and our Indians, many of whom had also attended divine service,

daily since we came here, but on the tenth the half king with his host of plunderers arrived, who behaved like madmen, yelling and shrieking through the village—throwing down all the fences of the cornfields, and turning their horses in, as they had done in both the other places—next killing hogs and poultry, &c. In short, they did every thing, that they thought would injure the Inhabitants. Seeing it impossible for us to continue here longer, we signified to captain Pipe our desire of going on; and all being in readiness, we left the place the next day, being the 11th day of the month.

Never did the Christian Indians leave a country with more regret. The three beautiful settlements, Gnadenhutten, Shonbrun, and Salem, were now to be forsaken, together with many of their young cattle, that were in the woods, with some hundred head of hogs, and at least three hundred acres of corn, ripe for harvesting, exclusive of a great quantity of old corn, potatoes, turnips, cabbages, &c. were now lost to them: together with books, that were burnt, many of which were for the instruction of the youth. Here indeed was patience required, and a hope that the Lord would be with them and grant them further strength and fortititude, to overcome all difficulties and dangers.

We continued travelling, some by land with the cattle, and others by water, the Indians having upwards of twenty canoes loaded with provision and

sundries, with them. Arriving at Goschochking, (forks of the Muskingum) on the third day, a halt was ordered for the purpose of hunting a tamed buffaloe cow, that belonged to one of the party, and was supposed to be in the woods feeding with other tame horn cattle; the hunters had scarcely been out a quarter of an hour, when the buffaloe, coming to the opposite side of the river to drink, was shot, and the meat divided among the whole, we also receiving a share.

Elliot, who had travelled with us thus far, now departed with his attendant for Sciota, where his friend and companion in mischief captain M'Kee, was waiting to learn of him the particulars of the expedition. It had been frequently remarked by the Christian Indians, that during the whole stay of Elliot among them, which was full four weeks, he never was seen outside of his tent, without having a drawn dagger in his hand, and which those ascribed to his bad heart. They had also learnt from their heathen relations, that he was the principal instigator of their sufferings; having continually importuned captain Pipe and the half king, to lodge complaints with the commandant at Detroit against them and their teachers, and insist on the removal, or destruction of us (the Christian Indians). We thanked God, when Elliot departed from us.

Our course was now up the Walhanding river (otherwise called the white woman's creek). But, the

river being at this season low, and in some narrow places obstructed by driftwood, the watermen had to cut a passage, before they could pass on, which caused us to move very slowly. Those who travelled by land, having their provisions in the canoes, were frequently obliged to wait an hour, or longer, until the canoes came up, which obliged us to make but short journeys each day.

On the night of the 19th, we experienced a most tremendous storm, accompanied by dreadful peals of thunder; the flashes of lightening were so vivid, that the whole horizon appeared in a blaze. It came on with such rapidity, that we had scarcely time to preserve ourselves from the falling trees. Never, perhaps were men on land in a more dangerous situation, from thunder storms, than we were at this time; to which the situation of the ground, marked out for us by the savages to encamp on, added greatly. This storm, which lasted some time, and during which the rain fell in torrents, caused the water to run in streams over the ground, on which we were, so that we all, even the women with babes in their arms, had to stand in the water, until it had flowed off. Every fire in the camp, was either put out by the rain, or washed away by the current. However, as soon as the water had run off, new fires were kindled for us, by the Indians. Dismal was the prospect in the morning, to see so many large trees torn up by their roots; while others, broken off at or near their tops,

were carried by the wind to some distance, some even being lodged very near us. Two of our best canoes, the one remarkably large and heavy loaded, partly with valuable articles belonging to the Indians, and partly with our stock of provisions, had been crushed to pieces, by large trees being blown down upon them, and every article lost. This loss was severely felt by us; yet, we were thankful that no lives were lost.

The half king, who the day before had came up with his men, from Salem, where he had remained for the purpose of searching for hidden, and buried property; gave orders in the morning to lay by for the day, for the purpose of drying our clothes and baggage; and although we had not much to dry, yet we were glad of a little rest.—In the forenoon of this day, he also sent off a party of his men, among whom were his two sons, to make a stroke on the white settlers on the Ohio river. While they were so proudly walking through our camp, they were not aware of what would befal them. They were defeated with the loss of some of the party, among whom were the half king's two sons.

A singular occurrence took place, in the course of the day, which, it was feared by some of us, would be followed by serious consequences; which, however was not the case, viz: Two of our young brethren, Jacob and Peter; having taken a view into the Wyandot camps, which was in the bottom lands above

us, saw a horse there, belonging to one of the missionaries, tied to a fence close by a hut, with the saddle and bridle hanging on a pole. Feeling for the proper owner of the horse, who had to travel on foot, and enraged at seeing the wearing apparel of their teachers, and of their wives and children, spread on the bushes to dry; they took the resolution, to take the horse, saddle and bridle, without ceremony; which they effected, by laying claim to the property; and from apprehension, that the horse might be again taken, were he discovered in the possession of the missionary who owned him, the brethren kept him under their care, for the rest of the journey: furnishing the missionary with one of their horses to ride on.

Continuing our journey for a number of days after the manner we had done, we arrived at *Gookhosing* (*habitation of Owls*) where we left the river, travelling altogether by land across the country, for Upper Sandusky; and suffered much on the way, through the ill will of the Wyandots, who by this time had become impatient to get home, and for that purpose would in a manner drive us before them, whipping the horses of the riders, so that sister Zeisberger was twice thrown from the horse she rode; and Michael Young, who was on foot, and lame at the time, recieved a blow from one of them, while calling out to us "How! How!" which is: "*along! along!*" We were all very much fatigued this day, and as none of

our Indian brethren and sisters, were able to keep up with us, they having very heavy packs to carry, besides their cattle to take care of; we felt uneasy, as we had to pass the night in the midst of a body of savages, of whom we had no good opinion. At this time we could only conjecture what occasioned the treatment, we experienced from them; but, we afterwards learnt, that the news that was recieved the day before, of the defeat of the war party, in which the two sons of the half king were killed, was most probably the cause.

Arriving at length on the 11th day of October, at the old Upper Sandusky town, which is on the east branch of the river of that name, we were left there by the half king and party, to shift for ourselves in the best manner we could: while they, together with their horses, all which were heavy loaded with plunder, moved nine or ten miles farther towards their homes.

The prospect of this dreary and barren country, which had been described to us as a paradise, made those of our people ashamed, who had listened to the favourable report the savages gave of it, while they were persuading them to leave their settlements on the Muskingum, and go with *them* thither, with upwards of one hundred head of horn cattle, principally milch cows, and nearly a hundred head of horses. We were at a loss to concieve how these could support themselves, during a long winter, which had already set in. Having no time to loose, we commen-

ced building huts of logs, for the winter, and the daily meetings, were for the present, continued in the same manner as during our journey, namely: seating ourselves, every evening, when the weather permitted, round a fire in the open air; when a discourse, or short exhortation, was delivered, by one of the ministers. At times, some of the strolling savages would also attend, not for the purpose of hearing the gospel preached, but to scoff and laugh at us.

Every day now brought us new troubles. The cattle finding no good pasture, were continually attempting to return, and therefore had to be watched. The milch cows failed for want of proper feed; and owing to this, many families, and especially those who had small children, suffered. Provisions of all kinds were wanting, and when the women went into the woods, or on the river banks, to look for, and dig roots as a substitute, they either could not find what they were in search of, or the ground was too hard frozen to get at them. Corn was very scarce throughout the country, and those who had the article, asked a dollar for three of four quarts. Even the timber for building was far off, for all the country, to a great distance, was a barren prarie, with the exception of here and there a few scattered trees. The pinching cold was severely felt by all those who were in want of clothes and bedding, and this was particularly the case with us.

Under the pressure of sufferings, we were ridiculed and laughed at.—"Look!" (said the Monsey chief to a Wyandot,) "look at these *praying* (Christian) Indians! who but the other day were living in affluence, how they now creep about in the bushes, looking for roots and berries to keep themselves from starving! Well! they are served right; for why should some live better than others! we have now brought them on a level with us!" Yet such sayings was not the worst, but both captain Pipe and the half king boasted, "that they now had it in their power to *compel* the Christian Indians to go to war with them, whenever they chose to command them."

On the 23rd day of this month, (October) we learnt from some of our brethren, who returned from Pipe's town with a small quantity of corn: that captain Elliot was now there; and, as they had been told, engaged with the chiefs in some private business. *We* suspected the object of his visit, and indeed early on the next day, two Delaware chiefs arrived with a message, said to have been sent from the commandant at Detroit, to the Delawares and Hurons (Wyandots), and which they were to lay before us. This message,* as delivered to us, was in the following words: viz. "children! your father on the other side of lake Erie, is glad to hear that you have brought the believing In-

* See this message in Lockiel's History of the mission of the United Brethren among the North American Indians, part iii, chap. ix, page 164, London edition.

dians and their teachers, to Sandusky, for now all nations may be united, and all obstacles removed; and the little birds in the woods, cannot sing so many lies in your ears. Now the Virginians will sit in the dark, and hear nothing more about us, from which we expect to derive great advantages. I leave it to your discretion, to find a dwelling for the believing Indians, wherever you please. In a few days a vessel will arrive in the Miami from Detroit, with goods, where your father will reward you well for your services. But he requests that captain Pipe would conduct the teachers (Missionaries) and some of the chiefs of the believing Indians to him, as he wishes to see and speak to them himself. He says: I know better how to speak to them than you, for I know them, and can better provide for them, having plenty of every thing."

Now, by the orders sent us from captain Pipe, we white Brethren, were all to go to Detroit, leaving our families behind. To this we did not think proper to accede; neither would we consent, that the missionaries should all go. The result was, that the Brethren Zeisberger, Senseman, Edwards and the writer of this narrative, agreed to go, but that the Brethren Youngman and Young, should remain at home, to attend to the concerns of the congregation, and assist in providing for our familfes in our absence; and Wingemund, the bearer of captain Pipe's order to us, was requested both to inform, and explain to him, what we had

resolved upon ; assuring him, that we would be responsible for acting thus, and no blame should be laid on him by the commandant at Detroit for not bringing us all. And further, that we would meet him on the morrow at his town.

Accordingly on the morning of the 25th, we four, together with several of our Indian Brethren, among whom was the national assistant William Chelloway (who spoke good English) after taking leave of our families, and the whole congregation, without knowing, whether we should ever see each other again, set out for Detroit. Arriving at Pipe's town, ten miles distant, we were told, that he had already gone on to the Miami river, to which place we should follow him ; when reaching that place on the 27th we found him so excessively intoxicated, and such a great number of drunken Indians about him, that it was not advisable to approach him ; we therefore encamped some distance off.

The intolerable noise of the drunken Indians, during the night, the danger we hourly were in from them, and the uncertainty when this drinking would cease, caused serious reflections respecting ourselves, considering the situation we were in. We had also by this time learnt from good anthority, that within a few days, between four, and five hundred Indians would arrive, in addition to those who were here already, and that the quantity of liquor ready for them was great. Learning where Elliot was en-

camped, and that he was waiting for the arrival of the vessel from Detroit with the goods for the Indians, I went to him with one of our Indians, to see if we could not be permitted to pursue our journey without captain Pipe, as it was not likely that he would quit drinking for some time. He replied, that we "durst not proceed without him, he, (Pipe) being expressly named by the commandant, as the person who was to bring us to him!" Asking his permission to put a few questions to him on the subject, I asked first, if he expected we would live to see the commandant at Detroit, if we must wait for Pipe's becoming sufficiently sober, to go with us? and secondly, whether he believed, that if the commandant could see the situation we were placed in here, as he now saw it, he would be indifferent, with regard to our safety?—He was much puzzled how to reply, but at length, on reflection, he said he *believed* we might go on without Pipe, as we had some Indians with us, who would protect us from the insults of warriors of other nations. I thanked him for the permission given, and returned to our camp, where we got in readiness to go off immediately.

At the moment, we were mounting our horses to depart, an Indian express from Pipe's town, came riding full speed, sounding the "*alarm yell*,"* when every Indian present, able to walk, moved on to hear

* Alarm yell, see Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, chap. xxvii. page 210.

the news, and which turned out to be a report brought by a runner to Sandusky, " that our brother Shebosh, who with some of the Indian Brethren, had some days before gone to Shonbrun to fetch corn, for their suffering families, had with them been taken by a body of Americans, and killed, and that a large body of Americans were, at this present time, on their march to Sandusky for the purpose of surprising the settlements at that place."—

It appeared that these reports caused a great commotion among the Indians assembled here, some of whom became very much enraged, and we taking advantage of their confusion, departed; yet, it was with heavy hearts, that we were proceeding in an opposite direction from where we had left our families; and had no other alternative left us, but to go to Detroit.—The vessel containing the goods for the Indians, we saw sailing up the bay.

We found the roads round the head of the lake (Erie) in many places most intolerable for travelling; such indeed, as we had never before seen. Mires, and large swamps, not sufficiently frozen over to bear our horses, who were continually breaking through, and sometimes sinking belly deep into the mire, which frequently obliged us to cut strong poles to prize them out again. Deep creeks, (here called rivers) were another obstacle to travelling, we having to swim our horses across, and where we could not meet with a canoe for ourselves, we had to cross on

rafts, made of poles put together.—Bleak prairies, in some places for miles in length, over which the cold west, or north west wind was blowing in our faces, so that we could scarcely stand against it, and having but few clothes on our backs, to preserve us from perishing with cold, we would frequently walk, driving the horses before us. The only comfortable hours we had during this whole jonrney, were, with the exception of the last, the nights when we could get into the woods, and make large fires. At Brownstown, (a Huron village), we stopped a short time to rest, and being informed that we might reach Detroit that day, we continued our journey. But what a disappointment ! when we were within four miles of the town, which we had in full view, we came to a deep river, called Rush, (properly Rouge) and from where we hit upon it, we had no means of crossing, nor could we discover in any place either a raft for crossing nor a house. Here we now were, on a bleak point, at the junction of this with the Detroit river where not a stick of wood was to be found ; and where the cold northwest wind, blowing over an extensive prairie, which lay at the back of us, came upon us with all its force, so that we had to move about the whole night, to keep ourselves alive. O how we longed to see the light of the morning ! and how rejoiced were we when shortly after this appeared, we saw two large boats coming down the Detroit river, and making for the river we were on, and the good people took us

across. Now, after having passed a dreadful night, we were approaching a fine town, in which we hoped to be so fortunate as to meet with some hospitable person, who would furnish us with an early and warm breakfast which we stood much in need of; however, we finally found, that we had failed in our calculation on this point; for being arrived at the west gate of the town, the centry would not suffer us to pass in, and we were obliged to stand on the drawbridge for a long time, until the pleasure of the commandant, (who resided at the east end of the town) was known: when we were permitted to proceed; the cold wind blowing all this time with violence upon us.

It being by this time known in the town, that the Moravian missionaries were come on as prisoners; curiosity drew the inhabitants of the place into the street, to see what kind of people we were. The few clothes we had on our backs, and these tattered and torn, might have induced them to cast looks of contempt upon us, but we did not find this to be the case. We observed, that we were viewed with commisseration. After standing some time in the street, opposite the dwelling of the commandant; we were brought in before him, where, with empty stomachs, shivering with cold, worn down by the journey, and not free from rheumatic pains; we had again to stand until we underwent a short examination.—Being at length dismissed, Mr. Bawbee took us to

the house of a private French family, which consisted of Mr Tybout and wife (both elderly people,) and having no children. We were told by Mr. Bawbee, who acted as an agent for the Indian department, that we might make ourselves easy for the present—and were not forbidden to walk about. We soon found ourselves in a good birth, for not only our landlord and his wife were obliging and kind to us, but we found many here who befriended us,—even among the officers themselves. In other circumstances than we at the time were, we might have felt ourselves contented and happy; but, knowing that our families, were not only suffering from hunger and cold, but were also kept continually, (on our account) between hope and fear, and being so repeatedly told by the savages, that we never would be permitted to return to them again, added to which, the report we had heard while at the rapids of the Ohio, was still kept alive, by the Indians who were daily coming in; all which produced great mental anxiety to us. Happy were we therefore, that the day had come, when our conduct whilst among the Indians was to be inquired into, in a public place; and before a council, where the accuser and the accused were to meet, face to face. These were captain Pipe, and two of his principle councellors, for whom the commandant had been long waiting and who were now arrived.

Accordingly, on the 9th day of November, we were conducted to the council house, where we found the

commandant with Mr. Bawbee by his side, together with other gentlemen, and a great number of Indians, with the Indian interpreters, seated, or standing in their proper places—The Indians of the different tribes were separately seated—some to the right of the commandant, and the Delawares right before him, with captain Pipe and his councellors in front. We four missionaries were placed by ourselves, on a bench to the left; a war chief, of each of the two divisions of the Indians, was holding a stick, of three or four feet long with scalps on it, which they had taken in their last excursions against the people of the United States.

The council being opened, by the commandant signifying to captain Pipe, that he might make his report: he rose from his seat, holding a stick with two scalps on it in his left hand, and addressed* the commandant in a very remarkable and spirited manner, with respect to the present war; and that of their fathers (the British) having drawn their children (the Indians) into it, &c. handing him, at the close of his speech, the scalps. Having seated himself again, a war chief of the other party rose in like manner with his scalp; and after concluding his address, he also handed it to the commandant, who, as before, gave it to the interpreter, standing behind him, to put aside. This business being finished, the commandant addressed captain

* For this address, see Heckewelder's Account of Indian Nations, chapter xi.

Pipe to the following effect, viz. captain Pipe! "You have for a long time lodged complaints with me, against certain white people among your nation, and whom you call teachers to the believing Indians, who, as you say, are friends to the Americans, and keep up a continual correspondence with them, to the prejudice of your father's* interest! You having so repeatedly accused these teachers, and desiring that I might remove them from among you; I at length commanded you to take them, together with the believing Indians, away from the Muskingum, and bring them into your country; and being since informed, that this had been done, I ordered you to bring those teachers, together with some of their principle men before me, that I might see and speak with them; since that time these men, now sitting before you, have come in, and surrendered themselves up to me, without your being with them. I now ask you, captain Pipe, if these men are those of whom you so much complained; and whom I ordered you to bring before me? Pipe replying in the affirmative, the commandant continued: "Well, both the accuser and the accused being present, it is but fair, that the accused hear from the accuser, the complaints he has against him; I therefore desire you to repeat what you have told me of these teachers, and accused them of!" Pipe, standing at the time, now turned to his councellors, telling them to get upon

* The British.

their legs and speak ; but finding them panic struck, he appeared to be at a loss how to act—once more turning to them, he endeavoured to make them sensible that this was the time to speak, and that the opportunity now granted them, for that purpose, would be lost to them for ever, if they spake not!—finally, seeing them hanging their heads, and remaining mute, he boldly stood up, and defended the teachers against the accusations brought against them, saying : that "they were *good* men ; and, that he wished his father (viz. the cammandant) to speak good words* to them, for they were his† friends; and that he would be sorry to see them treated ill and hard."—The commandant still persisting in having the call he had made on captain Pipe, of *repeating* what he had told him of those teachers now present; he became greatly embarrassed, and casting another glance at his frightened, and dejected councellors, who still were hanging their heads; he did report—yet adding: "father! the teachers cannot be blamed for this ; for living in our country where they had to do whatever we required of them, they were compelled to act as they did! They did not write letters (meaning speeches) for themselves, but for *us* ! *I*‡ am to blame!

* Meaning to treat them civily and kindly.

† "His friends," meaning thereby to say : that they were by the nation generally, considered as well disposed to them—and sought the best

‡ Meaning the nation.

I caused them to do what they did! We urged them to it, whilst they refused, telling us, that they did not come here for the purpose of meddling with our affairs, but for the spiritual good of the Indians!" The commandant then asking him, what *he* wished him to do with us, whether he should send us out of the country, or permit us to return again to our families and congregation; he, contrary to what was expected, advised the commandant to suffer us to return to our homes.

We being now questioned by this general officer, with regard to our ordination and vocation; but particularly with regard to our connection with the American Congress—and whether we were dependant on that body? we answered: "that the Society to which we belonged, had for upwards of thirty years, laboured among the North American Indians, for the purpose of bringing them over to Christianity.—That from the commencement of our Missions, Missionaries had been continually among them, who were sent by the Bishops and Directors of our Church.—That Congress indeed knew of our labouring among the Indians, for the purpose already stated; but that they never had, either directly or indirectly, interfered with our Missionary concerns: nor prescribed rules for us to act by. That all we knew of the American congress, was: that they wished all the Indians to be at peace and not take part in the war on either side: but, follow the example of their countrymen, the Christians Indians, and join

them in becoming an agricultural, and a Christian people, &c."

The commandant next stepping up to us, declared us acquitted of the charges laid against us, assuring us, at the same time "that he felt great satisfaction and pleasure, in seeing our endeavours to civilize and Christanize the Indians, and would cheerfully permit us to return again to our congregation!"—All which being interpreted to captain Pipe and his party, he next turned to the national assistants, expressing his satisfaction also in seeing them; admonishing them to continue to obey their teachers, and not meddle with wars, and taking them by the hand, promised that they should be furnished with some clothing. Finally having intimated that we should be furnished with clothes and other necessary articles—and offering his services whenever we should stand in need of them, or his advice and assistance, he concluded by saying; that henceforth, we should have free access* to him at his house, whenever we were desirous of seeing him.

On retiring from the council house, we were congratulated by many respectable Inhabitants of the place on our happy acquittal; and the prospect of our again returning to our families. Even captain Pipe

*Previous to the meeting on this day, we were not permitted to state our grievances to the cammandant, either verbally or by petition. Mr. Bawbee, having signified to us that we must patiently await the arrival of captain Pipe, on which all depended.

himself, after asking our Indians, how they were satisfied with what he had said: observed, that he knew he had spoken the truth, and adding: "I never wished your teachers any harm, knowing that they love the Indians; but, I have all along been imposed on and importuned to do what I did, by those who do *not* love them; and now, when these were to speak, they hung their heads, leaving me to extricate myself, after telling our father things they had dictated—and persuaded me to tell him."

Whilst the taylors was making clothes for us, we were invited by our friends in town, to visits. One merchant, shortly after our arrival at this place, returned some new clothes belonging to one of us, which he had purchased of one of the Indian warriors who took us. Another trader who had purchased of those warriors four silver watches, belonging to us, had to deliver them up to the commandant, who satisfied him, and gave them to us again. This generous officer, also sent a barrel of pork, with some flour, to Sandusky for us.

We were, upon the whole, thankful, that since God had permitted the savages to lay hands on us, he also had so directed their ways, that we did not fall a sacrifice to their vengeance, and that the disigns of those who thought they were sure of seeing us banished out of the country,—(and with us the preaching of the gospel, also;) were defeated from the very source they had calculated on, that their wish would be effect-

ed. The commandant had, in our opinion, done nothing in this affair but what his duty required. With prudence, justice, and humanity for his guide—a wise providence seemed to support him. On a nearer acquaintance with this general officer, we found him an admirer and well wisher to religious undertakings. He sympathised with us for our sufferings, which were contrary to his orders, and declared that we were engaged in a good cause. The passport given us by him, at our departure, purported that we were "permitted to perform the functions of our office among the Christian Indians without molestation."

Being now well supplied with warm clothes and blankets, both for ourselves and fellow labourers at home, we took leave of our benefactor, Arent Schyler de Peyster, major of the king's 8th regiment and commandant of Detroit and its dependencies, &c. Intending to set off early the next morning, we had the mortification to find that the horses we had rode from Sandusky to this place, were missing, though but the evening before they were seen, together with the horses our Indians had rode on. The supposition was, that some person or persons, inimical to missions among the Indians, had put our horses out of the way, to prevent our returning to the Indian country again; as the Indians' horses had not been taken off. Be this as it may, the lost horses were never recovered; the commandant, however, obligingly furnished us with horses to travel home with.

On the 14th of November we left Detroit, the weather was cold, and the ground hard frozen,—meeting Indians from Sandusky, on the road, they repeated the report of our people, who had gone to Shonbrun to bring corn, having all been murdered by the Virginians, which however was not the case; for captain Biggs, the generous and humane officer, commanding the party, on finding that they were not of the enemy, but Christian Indians, did not suffer one of them to be molested; but took them to Pittsburg, where they were kindly treated, and left to return to their homes when they pleased.

When within one days journey of Sandusky, a very deep snow fell, which made it difficult travelling. We however arrived there on the 22nd in the evening. The joy on both sides was great. Daily had reports been brought here during our absence, that the commandant at Detroit, had sent us in a vessel down the Lake (Erie), never to return again.

Not being much troubled by the savages for some time, we built a temporary meeting house, of long poles placed upon each other, between posts, the crevices being filled up with moss (gathered from trees,) instead of mortar; but in what manner to get a supply of provisions, which we stood in need of, caused many anxious reflections. Our good friend, M'Cormick, had indeed entered into a contract, with a Mr. Robbins, a trader at Lower Sandusky, for all the corn he could purchase, but even there, (which was about

forty miles distant) the article was scarce ; yet, the supply we recieved through these good men, served to keep us from starving. The Christmas holydays, notwithstanding our poverty, were celebrated with cheerfulness and a blessing; and the year concluded with thanks and praises to him who is ever the guardian and Saviour of his people.

Little did the congregation imagine, when entering the year 1782, that this would be the most trying year for them ; for, although put to great straits for provisions, they trusted in the Lord, that he in due time would relieve them. That they had a place of worship, and could daily hear the gospel preached, was to them a great consolation, in these days of trial ; and seeing some, who but lately had joined the congregation, call upon the Lord for mercy—and baptized in his name ; enlivened their hopes, that the Lord would continue to be gracious and merciful to them.

Hitherto the Christian Indians, had suffered most from a want of provisions ; but now, in the dead of the winter, they also suffered severely from the cold, as, towards the end of January, the cold during the nights, became almost insupportable ; the more so, on account of the smallness of our huts, not permitting the convenience of our having large fires made within them ; and even wood being scarce where we were. Our houses having no flooring, whenever a thaw came on, the water forcing passages through the earth, entered in such quantities that we scarcely could keep our feet

dry. The cattle, finding no pasture in these dreary regions, and we not being able to procure any for them; now began to perish by hunger, and as provisions for so many people, could not be had even for money, famine took place, and the calamity became general; many had now no other alternative but to live on the carcases of the starved cattle, and in a few instances, suckling babes perished for want of nourishment from their mothers' impoverished breasts. The missionaries had, at this time, reduced their daily allowance of provision for bread, to a pint of Indian corn, per man, a day. Now and then Mr. M'Cormick sent them a leg of venison purchased of the hunters.

Yet, in this wretched situation, the hungry Wyandots would often come in our huts, to see if there was any victuals cooking, or ready cooked. At one time, just as my wife had set down to what was intended for our dinner, the half king, Simon Girty, and another, a Wyandot, entered my cabin, and seeing the victuals ready, without ceremony began eating; when one of the Indian Brethren coming in and seeing this, reprimanded them for their impudence, saying: "You who have treated my teachers so bad, now dare to come here to live upon them!—You that told us at Gnadenhutten, what a great plenty of provision you had at Sandusky, and that we would find every thing we could wish for when we came there, now come to us, to eat up the last morsel we have! Have you no

shame ! If hunger pinches you, go out into the street where you will find dead cattle, of which you may eat as much as you please ; but keep away from our teachers, for you have sufficiently shown by your behaviour to them, that you do not love them !"

At another time, on a similar occasion, one of our Indians said to the half king : " When you came to Gnadenhutten with your men, we gave you not only enough to eat, of such provisions as the Indians generally make us of ; but we supplied you with any thing you wished for, that we had ; bread, pork, butter, milk, sugar, tea, chocolate, &c. You told us to rise and go with you, and not to stand looking at our cornfields, for we would find with you enough to live upon !—Now you have brought us hither, and never once offered us a single ear of corn ! See ! if any one catches a bird, or any other creature, which he wishes to keep alive, his first care is to get food for the creature to feed on, that it may not starve ! Your conduct towards us, appears as if you had brought us here for the purpose of starving us!"—The fact was, that they themselves had scarcely any thing to live upon.

The famine daily increasing—and the children crying for victuals, was more than the parents could endure. These could not afford to pay at the rate of a dollar for two or three quarts of corn, which was the price now asked by those who had any. Therefore, consulting with one another on measures to be taken

for their relief, their deliberations closed with a resolution, to look to no other quarter for corn, but to their forsaken towns—and the plan being agreed upon they informed the half king of their intention, leaving it at his option, whether or not, he chose to send a guard with them, to keep them *from* "*running away!*" which however he declined doing. They next made their plan known to the missionaries, namely: that they would proceed to their towns, and leave their families some distance behind them, to whom they would bring the corn from the fields, and who were to bury it in holes* made in the ground for the purpose; and from which place they would fetch it, as it would be wanted. The plan being approved of, they were desired to conform thereto, as it was natural to suppose that the people from the American side, would now and then take a look at the old towns, to see if any warriors harboured there. Having taken an affectionate leave, they set out in several divisions, of about one hundred and fifty in number, men, women and children; each division intending to work upon the corn which they had raised.

The missionaries were in hopes, that as the commandant at Detroit, had favoured us with his passport for our return, this would lead the hostile Indians to reflection, and that they would conduct themselves

* These holes are made round, about three feet deep, narrower at the top than at bottom, after the hole is dug, it is burnt out—set with bark, and well covered after the corn is in.

better in future. We also now considered ourselves, under the protection of the English government: but still an evil existed—every day it became more evident, that the design of the enemies of the Brethren and their preaching the gospel to the Indians, remained the same, and nothing short of our being banished out of the country, would satisfy them. They would say, that they wanted no prayer houses in their country, &c. Indeed their jealousy of us and the Christian Indians, seemed daily to increase. They were sensible of what they had done; and how much they had injured us, but having nothing of the Christian spirit, they could not think, that we could forgive them, but supposed that we meditated revenge, and would one day, draw an army of Virginians out, for the purpose of destroying them. Already had the half king ascribed the death of his two sons in the last fall, to the secret intrigues of the people he had so distressed; and he lived in continual fear, lest the Christian Indians would revenge the injuries they had suffered through him, upon his own person.

Girty, (or captain Girty as he called himself) —an outcast among mankind—dwelling among the Wyandots, and frequently going with them to war against the people of the United States, would instigate the former to do us all the mischief they could; and was a principle in raising their suspicion against us. This man (as we were informed from good authority) came one day about that time to Mr.

M'Cormick and requested him to write a letter for the half king, the purport of which was: "that the missionaries at Sandusky, kept up a continual correspondence with the Americans; and received regularly, every ten days, letters from Pittsburg; and that they were endeavouring to persuade the Virginians to destroy the Wyandot nation, &c."—That gentleman however, enquiring of him as to the truth of what he wanted written, and being answered, "that it made no difference to him whether it was true or not:" and he peremptorily declined writing falsehoods for him; however, report stated, that he had got the letter written by some other person. A letter was, shortly after this, written for the half king to the commandant,* stating, "that he, (the half king) would be uneasy in his mind, as long as the teachers remained at Sandusky; he fearing some misfortune, and therefore requested the commandant to take them away as soon as possible; but that if he refused, he himself would know what to do!"—

This last letter had the desired effect, the commandant well understanding, what was meant to be done to us, in case we were not removed: he sent an answer to the half king to that purpose, we however were entirely ignorant, of what was intended, until on the first day of March, a messenger, sent by the half king and Simon Girty arrived, who by their order cited all the teachers "to appear before them to-morrow morning at the house of M'Cormick, there to hear a letter read

* See Lockiel's History, part 3d. chapter x.

written by the commandant at Detroit to the half king and captain Girty respecting us.

We considered it unnecessary for all of us to go so great a distance, for the purpose of hearing the contents of a letter; David Zeisberger, and the writer of this, concluded to go by themselves, and accordingly we set off on foot early on the next morning, and having waded the eight miles through the snow, found the half king and Simon Girty already there, waiting for us. The latter seeing but two, of us arrive, impudently insulted us, for having disobeyed their orders, to which we camly, and in a civil manner replied. After which, Girty having mounted on a kind of stage, about six feet in height, he took an open letter in one hand and a black string of wampum beads in the other, and addressed us with an air of contempt in these words: "Gentlemen! At length you have brought upon yourselves what you have so long deserved, by means of your attachment to the rebels! Your deeds are no more bidden! they are known to the commandant at Detroit! hear this letter read, which is sent to the half king! I will read it to you; No! take it and read it yourselves—and look at this! (holding up the string of wampum) look well! do you see that it is black?* The cause of its being a black string instead of a

* See Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, with regard to the kind of wampum beads made use of, chapter vii.

white one, you already know, so that I need not tell you; mind! it is sent with the letter!"

The contents of the letter alluded to, were to this effect:—"That in consequence of the half king's request, the commandant had determined to remove the teachers from among the Christian Indians—and he hereby did appoint captain Girty to bring them to Detroit. That, in case Girty should be otherwise engaged, he should appoint another fit person to bring the teachers on. That should Girty, or any other person bringing them in, want assistance, the half king should help him!"

On those words, where the half king was called on to render him assistance, if required, Girty laid a particular stress—meaning thereby, to threaten us if we refused to go, and saying (with a loud laugh) "Gentlemen! take notice! the half king is to help me!"

We saw nothing in this message that tended to frighten us. That the wampum beads sent with the speech of the commandant, were black, did not surprise us in the least—nor was any thing bad meant against us, by asking the assistance of the half king in bringing us to Detroit, if Girty stood in need of it; for the commandant had closed his letter, or speech to them, with a special charge, "not to plunder us, nor otherwise to abuse us; neither to suffer us to be plundered or abused by any person whatsoever."

Note. This narrative will afford the reader a fair

opportunity to judge of the causes, why the introduction of Christianity, among the Indians, (which I consider the forerunner towards their civilization) has hitherto not succeeded to the extent which might have been expected. Among the impediments, thrown in the way of those ministers, and pious characters, who have devoted themselves to this service ; is the influence which a set of white people, who from choice (they wishing to be out of the reach of the civil law), have settled among them; and who in times of war are, improperly, employed as agents, emissaries, or subalterns, to advise the Indians to desist for a while from their ordinary occupations—(denounce a certain nation, or class of people,) and assume a hostile character against them—We are apt too to pronounce against the probability of civilizing the Indians, and it has frequently been asserted, "that a white man will sooner become an Indian than an Indian a white man!" That there are many white people, to whom this is applicable, we are certain, and the example before us, as also others of the same nature, as set forth in this narrative, prove that there are white people, who by far exceed the Indians in villanous and cruel acts, advising and trying to persuade those Indians who have embraced Christianity to desert the cause, "as not belonging to their sphere," and of instigating the savages, to banish teachers of religion out of their country, nay, even to destroy them. Such people considering themselves authorised to do

any thing which may tend to favour the cause of their employers—or, acting as though their powers were unlimited, strive to their utmost to destroy all the good which had been done among them in time of peace, whether it tended to disseminate religious principles amongst them, or to draw them gradually towards a civilized life. Such were those persons, who (at the commencement of the American revolution, and during its continuance) instigated the Indian tribes to arm against the Christian Indians, and their teachers; and who otherwise never would have acted the part they did, to a people whom they hitherto had, both befriended and respected, and whose mode of life they so much approved of.

The consternation which was occasioned among our people, on learning that their teachers were now to be taken from them, was great; and nothing but lamentations were heard throughout the village; and during the short stay we had to make with them, our grief was not less. Indeed, it was the most painful occurrence which had befallen them; so much so, that both they and we lost appetite and sleep. Stephen, being immediately dispatched to the towns, where our brethren and sisters were gathering corn, we were in expectation of seeing them before our departure; but alas! the day drawing near on which we must depart, and none of them arriving, we were much troubled.

On the morning of the 13th of March, a Frenchman

named Francis Levallie, from Lower Sandusky, gave us notice, that Girty, who was to have taken us to Detroit, having gone with a party of Wyandots to war against the Americans on the Ohio, had appointed him to take his place in taking us to Detroit, and that on the next day after to-morrow (the 15th) he would be here again, to set out with us. A little conversation with this man, satisfied us, that we had fallen into better hands. He told us : " that Girty had ordered him, to drive us before him to Detroit, the same as if we were cattle, and never make a halt for the purpose of the women giving suck to their children. That he should take us round the head of the lake (Erie) and make us foot every step of the way,"—that he however, would not do this, but would take us to Lower Sandusky, and from that place send a runner with a letter to the commandant at Detroit, representing our situation, and taking further orders from him, respecting us.

While we were preparing for the journey, on the next day and entertaining hopes, that some of our brethren from Muskingum would arrive, the *alarm yell** was sounded in the direction of the path they were to pass on ; and drawing nearer, the yell was performed in such quick succession, that no doubt was left, but that we would hear bad news ; and which proved to be the case. On the arrival of a runner,

* See Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, chap. xxvii.

who was a Sandusky warrior, (returning from a war expedition against the people on the Ohio,) we learnt, that while our Indians were gathering their corn, a party of Virginians had come upon them, and made them all prisoners; killing some and taken the remainder with them to Pittsburg.

This was bad news indeed, such as we did not expect to hear; and yet, at this time, we did not hear the worst, as it afterwards turned out to be; but for us it was as much as we could bear. That we were to part from our beloved Indian congregation, perhaps never to meet again, was alone a load almost too great for us to bear, especially as we saw our people in every direction weeping for grief on the occasion.

With the morning on the 15th, the day appointed for our departure; our conductor, Mr. Levallie, arrived. Once more however, we assembled together in the chapel, where our worthy brother Zeisberger, as a tender father, exhorted the brethren and sisters, to cleave close to the Lord, as they were now to be separated from their teachers. He kneeled down with the congregation, giving thanks to the Lord, for all the spiritual blessings received at his hand, praying fervently for them, and that they might be preserved in faith, and in the pure and saving doctrine of Jesus Christ, and his atonement, till we should see each other again, either here below, or before the throne of the Lamb. After this we parted.

As the bloody catastrophe took place on the Mus-

kingum during the time we were waiting for our brethren and sisters to come from thence; I will break off from the account of the journey we were entering on, and relate the particulars of this horrid transaction, at the same time bringing into view, every material circumstance connected therewith.

It has already been stated above, that the Indians, pressed by hunger, had gone to their forsaken towns, to gather, and secure a quantity of corn, that they might fetch the same from time to time, as they wanted it; and that their intention had been, not to encamp at, or near their old towns, but to leave their families back in the woods, at a proper distance, &c.—Being, however, met on the way by some of the brethren, who had in the fall been taken from Shonbrun to Pittsburg, and by them encouraged to go *direct* to the towns, and work on their corn at their leisure—there being not the least danger, that any white people from the American side would molest them; they, encouraged by so favourable a report, and conscious that they in no one instance had done the American people an injury (considering these always as their friends), were easily persuaded to follow the advice given them by their brethren; and they had already been several weeks there, without the least thought of danger, working both by day and night in gathering and husking corn, and securing it in the woods.

Satisfied with what they had done, and at the point

of their departure ; four Sandusky warriors (who on their return from the Ohio settlements, had encamped on a run some distance from Gnadenhutten,) gave them notice, where they had been ; and added, that having taken a woman and child prisoner, whom they killed and impailed on this side of the Ohio river, and supposing, that the white people in consequence of what *they* had done, might make up a party and pursue them ; they advised them to be on their guard, and make off with themselves as soon as possible.

This report becoming known among all our Indians, and they wishing to take the opinion of the principal men at the three towns thereon, the national assistant Samuel, came from Shonbrun to Salem, (where those from Gnadenhutten met them ;) when, a general opinion prevailing, that there could be no danger, if even white people should come in pursuit of those who had committed the murder, for that these immediately would discover they were not the hostile, but the Christian Indians, who they knew, did not go to war from principle, considering the killing of man a great sin ; they concluded themselves safe. Yet, as they had already secured as much corn as they thought would serve them for the season, they made it publicly known, that all should get in readiness to go off on a certain day ; and Samuel, on his return to Shonbrun from this meeting, reported, that he was rejoiced at finding such love and harmony prevail among the brethren and sisters at the other two places.

On the day our Indians, were bundling up their packs, intending to set off on the next morning; a party, of between one and two hundred white people, from the Ohio settlements, made their appearance at Gnadenhutten. They had already, when within a mile of the place, met with Joseph Shabosh, son of our brother Shabosh, (while he was catching his horses,) and murdered him in a most cruel manner, notwithstanding his telling them who he was, and that he was a white man's son, and begging them to spare his life. Jacob, brother-in-law to young Shabosh, whilst tying up his corn sacks, on the bank, at the sweat-house, and about one hundred and fifty yards from the town, and thirty from the river; was the first person who saw the party coming on, between himself and the river, and so near him that (as he expressed himself), he might have seen the black in their eyes, had they looked in the direction where he was standing. He even knew some of the men of the party, to be the same, who had taken the Christian Indians from Shonbrun in the last fall, among whom both he and young Shabosh were, and believing the good captain Biggs to be again with them, he was about hailing them, when to his astonishment, they at that instant, shot at one of the brethren who was just crossing the river in a canoe, to go to the cornfield, and who dropping down at the shot, Jacob supposed him to be killed. Seeing this act of theirs, he fled precipitately, and before they had turned their faces the

way he was, he was out of sight. Jacob might have been the means of saving many lives, especially at Salem, where his old father was ; but not having the presence of mind, he ran several miles the contrary way, and hid himself for a day and a night.

The murdering party, seeing most of the Indians scattered over the corn field at work, (or preparing for the journey) hailed them, as their "friends and brothers, who had purposely come out to relieve them, from the distress brought on them by the enemy, on account of their being friends to the American people." The Christian Indians, not in the least doubting their sincerity, walked up to them, and thanked them, for being so kind, while the whites again gave assurances that they would meet with good treatment from them. They then advised them to discontinue their work, and cross over to the town, in order to make the necessary arrangements, for the journey, as they intended taking them out of the reach of their enemies, and where they would be supplied abundantly with all they stood in need of: all which was pleasing to them to hear.

During these transactions at Gnadenhutten, the national assistant, John Martin and his son, were not yet returned from the woods, from where they were taking corn, to deposite it at some distance; but on their return that day to the field, they were not a little surprised, at seeing so many tracks of shodden horses, and not a single person remaining in the field, where

they had left them the day before, busily employed. Not knowing the cause of this, he repaired to an eminence from where he had a full view of the town, on the opposite side of the river; and there, seeing the Indians and white people together, apparently very sociable, some walking about, and others as if engaged in friendly conversation, he sent his son across to them, while he went to Salem, to inform the brethren and sisters there, of what had taken place at Gnadenhutten, giving it as his opinion, that perhaps God had ordained it so, that they should not perish in the barrens of Sandusky, and that these people were sent to relieve them. After having held a consultation with the brethren at that place, they united with him in opinion, and sent the two brethren Adam and Henry with him to Gnadenhutten, for the purpose of learning the true cause of the white people coming out, concluding that, if it turned out as they expected and wished, they would also join them. They finding every thing agreeable, they were not only satisfied with what the white people had told them, but were also urged by the brethren at this place, to join them in going into the settlements of the white people, where the brethren at Bethlehem, on a proper representation being made, would cheerfully supply them with teachers. The whites, encouraging them in these hopes, now appointed a body out of their number, to go with the messengers to Salem to assist in bringing the inhabitants, with their effects, to Gnadenhutten.

The language of the white people, being the same at Salem, as at Gnadenhutten; the brethren and sisters were easily persuaded to go with them; especially, as many of them professed to be *very* religious, admiring their fine and spacious place of worship, and discoursing constantly on religion, both here and on the way to Gnadenhutten; frequently saying to the Indians: "you are indeed good Christians!" and made use of the same language to one another in their hearing. Some of them, on leaving Salem, set fire to the houses and church, which was disapproved of by our Indians; they, however, pretended that they meant no harm, but had merely done it to deprive the enemy of a harbouring place.

Arriving at the river bank opposite Gnadenhutten their eyes began to open; but it was now too late. They discovered a spot in the sand, where to appearance, a wounded Indian had been weltering in his blood, and near this, marks of blood on the canoe. Poor creatures! being disarmed; as they, with those of Gnadenhutten, had freely given up their guns, axes, and knives, to those who had solemnly promised, that on their arrival at Pittsburg, all should be returned to them again. But had they even been in possession of their arms, they could not consienciously, and probably, would not have attempted to resort to these in their defence.—Being taken over to the town, O how the prospect was changed! The language now held to them, was the reverse of what it had been at

Salem, and on the road hither.—The Gnadenhutten brethren, sisters and children, were already confined for the purpose of being put to death; they were no longer called Christians as before, but warriors!—the same language was also held to the Salem Indians,—all were declared enemies and warriors, and all they could offer in their defence, was of no avail. They were further told: "that the horses found with them, had been taken from white people, they being branded with letters, with which Indians were unacquainted; that the axes found with them, had the names of white people stamped upon them. Pewter basins and spoons were stolen property; the Indians making use of wooden bowls and spoons. Tea-kettles, pots, cups and saucers, was also declared stolen property. In short every thing they possessed, was said to have been taken from the white people whilst at war with them; and to this they would swear.

How must those poor creatures have felt, being sensible of their innocence! They could have given a satisfactory account of every article found in their possession, where, and from what trader or mechanic they had purchased it. As for the branding irons, it was common among them, to get these made by the smiths, with the initials of their names, to enable them to know the horses and colts belonging to each other. But, many of these accusers knew well, that the Christian Indians were becoming an agricultural people—were making use of the plough,

raised large crops, and lived chiefly by the produce of the field, and the cattle they raised. That more or less of them, could set a decent table to a stranger, furnished with bread, meat, butter, cheese, milk, tea, coffee, chocolate, &c. together with such other articles as the season afforded. Besides this, the Christian Indians were well known by their dress, which was plain and decent, no sign of paint to be seen on their skin or clothes, they wore no feathers about their heads, neither did they shave and trim them as every Indian warrior does; but wore their hair as the Christians did. These, with other marks on them, were alone sufficient to prove that they were not warriors. But, the number of horses and other property which they possessed, was an object with these murderers, who concluded, that—"when they killed the Indians, the country would be theirs; and the sooner this was done, the better!*" Accordingly they told the poor creatures that they must die.

Finding that all entreaties to save their lives was to no purpose—and that some, more bloodthirsty than their comrades, were anxious to begin upon them, they united in begging a short delay, that they might prepare themselves for death—which request at length was granted them. Then asking pardon for whatever offence they had given, or grief they had occasioned to each other, they kneeled

* The language of backwoods men.

down, offering fervent prayers to God their Saviour —and kissing one another, under a flood of tears fully resigned to his will, they sang praises unto him, in the joyful hope, that they would soon be relieved from all pains, and join their redeemer in everlasting bliss.

During the time of their devotion, the murderers were consulting on the manner, in which they would put them to death. Some were for setting fire to the houses they were in, and burning them alive. Others wanted to take their scalps home with them, as a signal of victory; while others remonstrated against either of these plans, declaring, that they never would be guilty of murdering a people, whose innocence was so satisfactorily evinced, and these proposed to set them at liberty, or, if they would not do that; at least to take them as prisoners, and deliver them up to the proper authority; but finding that they could not prevail on these monsters to spare their lives, they wrung their hands—and calling God to witness, that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Christian Indians, they withdrew to some distance from the scene of slaughter.

The murderers, impatient to make a beginning, came again to them, while they were singing, and enquiring whether they were now ready for dying, they were answered in the affirmative; adding: "that they had commended their immortal souls to God, who had given them the assurance in their hearts,

that he would receive their souls :"—One of the party now taking up a cooper's mallet, which lay in the house (the owner being a cooper) saying : " how exactly this will answer for the business," he began with Abraham, and continued knocking down one after the other, until he had counted fourteen, that he had killed with his own hands. He now handed the instrument, to one of his fellow murderes, saying, " my arm fails me ! go on in the same way ! I think I have done pretty well !"* In another house, where mostly women and children were confined, Judith, a remarkably pious aged widow, was the first victim. After they had finished the horrid deed, they retreated to a small distance from the slaughter houses, but after a while returning again to view the dead bodies, and finding one of them, (Abel) although scalped and mangled; attempting to raise himself from the floor, they so renewed their blows upon him, that he never rose again; then having set fire to the houses, they went off, shouting and yelling, on having been so victorious.

The number of Christian Indians murdered by these miscreants, exceeded ninety ; all of whom, except four, were killed in the slaughter houses. The four, were young Shabosh, who was killed before the murderers reached the town, Jacob who had been shot down in the canoe, and two young

* So related by a lad who escaped out of this house, and who understood English well—and confirmed by several of the party.

brethren, Paul and Anthony, who perceiving the murderers intentions, were shot down under the bank of the river, whilst attempting to escape.

Of the above number, sixty two were grown persons, one third of whom were women; the remaining thirty four were children. Five of the slain were respectable national assistants, viz. Samuel Moore, Tobias, Jonas, Isaac and John Martin. The two former, had been members of the pious Missionary Brainard's congregation in New Jersey, and after his death, had joined themselves to the Christian Indians living on the Susquehanna. The first, (Samuel) was a very useful member of the church; he had received his education from or under Mr. Brainard, could read well, and understood the English language so well, that he was for many years, and until his death an interpreter of the sermons preached. He was perhaps never seen without being at some occupation. Of reading he was very fond, especially in the bible or hymn book. Tobias' appearance alone, commanded respect: he also led the life of a true Christian. The same may be said of Jonas, and of Isaac Glickhican, the reader of this narrative has already been informed, how useful a member of the congregation he was—how prudently he acted on all occasions, and how ready and fearless he was in time of danger– how faithful to his teachers and doubtless he would have risked his life for them if occasion had required it. John Martin, one of the chapel interpreters at Gnadenhutten, was an exemplary and

worthy man. Three of these five brethren were above sixty, and the other two about fifty years of age. Many of the brethren and sisters who were murdered, were born of Christian parents in the society, and were part of those who in the years 1763 and 1764 had been taken under the protection of the Pennsylvania government, while the Paxton boys (as they called themselves) daringly threatened to murder them. Here they were now murdered! together with the children!—the loving children!—who so harmoniously raised their voices in the chapel—at their schools, and in their parents houses, in singing praises to the Lord!—those, whose tender years—innocent countenances, and tears, made no impression on these pretended white Christians, were all butchered with the rest.

Two youths, each of them about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who were shut up with the rest in the houses where the murders were committed, most miracuously escaped. The one, (Thomas) thrown in the house where most of the men were, was knocked down and scalped with the rest; but after a while recovering, and looking around, he saw Abel also scalped, and with the blood running down his face, supporting himself with his hands against the floor in order to rise. With great presence of mind he quickly laid himself down again, as if he was dead, thinking, that perhaps some of the murderers might return again, to examine if all were really dead; scarcely had he lain a minute or two, when

several men did come, who seeing Abel in this situation they chopped his head with their hatchets, to prevent his rising again, and having done this, they went off to inform their comrades of the circumstance ; (as the lad thought). Believing this the proper time for him to attempt an escape, he crept over the dead bodies to the door, still keeping himself in a posture to be able to deceive them a second time, should they come again, when neither seeing or hearing any body coming, and it beginning to be dusk, he quickly got out at the door and went to the back side of the house, where he hid himself until it was quite dark, when he escaped ; taking a course through the woods for the path leading to Sandusky. The other lad, who was in the house where the women were, had found means to raise a plank, which served as a trap door to the cellar which was under the floor, where he and another lad who had followed him, lay concealed during the time the butchery continued—the blood from above running in streams through the crevices upon them, the planks being but loosely laid, and not groved. Here waiting for the dusk of the evening to come on, that they might effect an escape, they next attempted to get out through a small hole, cut for a window, and through which, this boy, though with difficulty, escaped ; but his comrade being bulkier than he was, could not force himself through, but stuck fast, and as the boy supposed, was burnt alive : as the observed both the slaughter

houses on fire, shortly after he left the house. These boys, fortunate in escaping here, were equally so, in meeting together in the woods, and afterwards falling in with the Shonbrun Indians in their flight, were joined by Jacob, before they reached Sandusky. One little boy of eight years old, (named Benjamin), was happily saved by a humane white man of the party, who privately took him off to his home, (where he raised him up to a man,) from whence he afterwards returned to the Indian country.

The providential escape of the Christian Indians at Shonbrun, ten miles higher up the river, was remarkable. Stephen, the Indian, whom we on the third of March, had dispatched from Sandusky to give the brethren and sisters notice, that we were to be removed from them; being exhausted on his arrival at Shonbrun on the 6th—two other brethren were sent with the message to Gnadenhutten and Salem. While the brethren were travelling along the path in conversation on the melancholy events which were to take place, viz. (that their teachers were to be taken from them,) they, to their surprise, discovered the tracks of shodden horses, both on and beside the path, and within one and two miles of the first mentioned place (Gnadenhutten), to satisfy themselves of the design of those who rode the horses, they cautiously followed the tracks, and had not proceeded far, before they espied the dead and mangled body of young Shabosh, with his scalp taken off! Al-

though shocked at the sight, yet they buried the body, or the mangled parts, and returning to Shonbrun, and reporting what they had discovered on the road, and giving it as their opinion, that their people at Gnadenhutten, probably had met with the same treatment. It being supposed, that the murderers would also come upon them, every preparation was made to fly as quick as possible, and although Shonbrun lay on the opposite side of the river, on which the murderers now were, and it would be out of their way to come here, yet, an opinion prevailed, that to take flight to the east side, then cross the river again above the mouth of sugar creek, (five or six miles higher up the river) would form a more secure barrier between them; they, in the evening all crossed to this side, and in the dark, proceeding about two miles and a half, when they made a halt, until the light of the morning would enable them to travel again. Such was their hurry to get out of the reach of the murdering party, that they forgot to take the canoe with them at the time, and work it up the river to the place where they meant to cross, as without it they had no means of crossing the river with their families, the waters being high. Very early next morning, before it was light, several of their men returned for the purpose, and scarcely having worked the canoe 300 yards from the town, and in sight of it, (it being day light), they heard the trampling of horses feet down the river,

when looking back, they saw the place surrounded with horsemen, apparently looking about for Indians and plunder. Having secured themselves with their canoe, they watched the movements of the party; particularly to observe if they attempted to cross the river; which however they could not do without swimming, the water being very deep where they were. They had examined the woods round the town, to discover the way the Indians had gone, but not discovering what had become of them, they returned the same way they came, taking with them such articles, as the Indians had left behind.

The Christian Indians were particularly thankful to a kind providence, who had so ordained it, that they did not fall into the hands of these murderers. Their eyes seemed to have been closed, as they did not discover the men in the canoe, though full in sight of them, and had they but crossed the river, they would immediately have fell in their tracks, and come up with them all in a body, on an extensive prairie, and no more than two miles and a half from where they were looking for them. On their journey to Sandusky the Indians endured many hardships; and having ran off empty and even without a sufficiency of provisions for the journey, they suffered also from hunger, and one infant babe perished for want of nourishment from the breast, before they reached the place they were going to.

The murderers returned home in high spirits, as though they had gained a signal victory; and straight-

way proceeded on to Pittsburg; where, on the opposite side of the Ohio river, they attacked the camps of the peaceable Delaware chiefs, with a number of friendly families, all under the protection of the American government—killed a number, and among them a promising young chief—and went off. Fortunately however the chief Gelelemend, (otherwise called Kilbock) and others, saved their lives by taking to the river, and reaching the town.*

"It afterwards appeared from the New York news paper," (at that time published by the British,) in which the Christian Indians are called "Moravian" Indians, and represented in a very unfavourable light; that the murderers had been prevented for the present, from proceeding to Sandusky, to destroy the remnant of the congregation."†

The account as it stood in the Pennsylvania gazette of April 17th, 1782, after giving an account of the incursions of the Indians, adds: "That the people being greatly alarmed, and having received intelligance, that the Indian towns on the Muskingum,

* The foregoing account of this dreadful event, has been collected partly from what the murderers on their return, and since, have related to people in the country from whence they had gone out—partly by Jacob and the two youths who had escaped (who all understood English); as also from the reports made by Samuel and others, of Shonbrun—and Anthony and others, who were some of those who made their escape, at the time the Delaware camps were attacked at Pittsburg—all of whom agreed exactly as to the principal parts of their respective evidence. And see Lockiel's History, &c. part, iii. page 182.

† See Lockiel's History, &c. part iii. page 183.

had not moved as was reported ;—a number of men, properly provided, collected and rendezvoused on the Ohio, opposite the Mingo bottom, with a design to surprise the above towns.—One hundred men swam the river, and proceded to the towns on the Muskingum, where the Indians had collected a large quantity of provisions to supply their war parties. They arrived at the town in the night undiscovered, attacked the Indians in their cabbins, and so completely surprised them, that they killed and scalped upwards of ninety, but a few making their escape ; about forty of which were warriors, the rest old women and children. About eighty horses fell into their hands, which they loaded with the plunder, the greatest part furs and skins ; and returned to the Ohio, without the loss of a man."

The savages making their remarks on the occasion, said : "We envied our friends and relations the believing (Christian) Indians, who lived so happy, enjoying peace, and having always plenty of provisions ; while we, who have taken a share in the war, were under continual fears, both when out at war, and at home, not knowing when an enemy would come upon us, and besides this, we with our families were always in a starving condition. As we could not bear to see our relations flourish, while we were so miserable, we endeavoured therefore to draw them back into heathenism, and place them on a level with us, the great spirit, who would not have it, put them away from us."

I now return to the departure of the missionaries, from their congregation at Upper Sandusky. Many of the brethren and sisters accompanied us part of the way, and some continued with us, until our arrival at this place; the sisters carrying our two small children by turns on their backs, well secured in their blankets from the wet and cold. Our conductor, Mr. Lavallie, seeing the senior misssionary Zeisberger, (at that time, upwards of sixty years of age,) set out on foot, took his own riding horse to him, saying: "No, monsieur! that will not do! here is my horse at your service!" Zeisberger replying: that he would try to walk along with the rest. "No!" (said the Frenchman,) "respect, both for your age, and the station you are in, demands this of me as a duty!" and walking off, he took his post in the rear of us. It was a most fatiguing journey to us all, on account of the badness of the roads; and particularly to those who were afflicted with rheumatic pains.

Arriving at Lower Sandusky, after several days travelling though the wilderness and swampy grounds; we were kindly recieved, by two English traders, who resided about a mile from each other, with the principal village of the Wyandots between them. Mr. Arundle having a spacious house, took in those who had families, while Mr. Robbins made the two single brethren welcome at his house; our conductor lodging with the former. With the assistance of Mr. Arundle, a letter was immediately written to the com-

mandant at Detroit, and sent by express, to inform him of our arrival at this place, setting forth our situation—the impossibility of our travelling by land to Detroit, (as Girty had ordered it,) and hoping he would assist us with a boat, &c.

During a stay of several weeks at this place, we were provided with the best of provisions which were to be had; and had also the pleasure of being frequently visited, by brethren and sisters from Upper Sandusky. There we also recieved the particulars of what had taken place at Gnadenhutten; and that our brethen, sisters, and children, had not been taken off as prisoners, as we had hitherto expected; but were murdered; and brother Joshua, (whose two promising young daughters, between the age of fifteen and eighteen, were among the slain:) was himself the bearer to us of this melancholy affair. We grieved much for such loving souls; and assembling on the occasion, prayed the church litany, wishing to be "kept in everlasting fellowship with the church triumphant," and with our dear brethren, sisters, and the children, slain on the Muskingum; in firm persuasion, of again meeting together in the presence of our Redeemer.

Although we did not experience want while here, being well supplied with every thing we stood in need of, by our benefactors, Arundel and Robbins; and also had the pleasure of visits from our brethren and sisters; yet, our minds were not easy, on account of our having to stay here so long. The Hurons,

(Wyondots,) had already, since we were here, raised a report, that the believing Indians, had murdered some of their women—enquiry, however, being made with regard to the truth of this; they were put to shame. We sometimes wished to visit each other, at the two houses where we were quartered, but the Indian village lying between the two points, there was some risk in doing this; it was therefore seldom attempted. Yet it so happened, that one day, when all appeared quiet at, and about the village, I took a walk to Mr. Robbins' house, where the brethren, Young and Edwards were lodged; and while there, the scalp yell was sounded, at the same time, in two opposite directions; and both war parties could, owing to the very high situation of the spot the house was on, be plainly seen, coming on with their prisoners and scalps, though yet at a great distance: both parties having prairie ground to travel on. Having asked Mr. Robbins' opinion, which would be the best for me to do, to go straightway home to my quarters, or wait until the storm was over, he advised the first; for me, it was fortunate that the situation of the village, prevented the inhabitants hearing the yells on the back side, the way I was coming; while from the other side, they not only heard the yells plainly, but also saw the party with their prisoners and scalps advancing, and knowing that they would be taken to the dwelling of the captain of the party, (but about fifteen yards beyond Mr. Arundel's house,) they all

ran full speed *from* the village to meet them; which gave me an opportunity of passing through the village after they left it; and I had just reached my lodgings, when the party, consisting of fourteen warriors, with three prisoners, and some scalps, which they had taken at Fort M'Intosh; (they being on fatigue while attacked and taken;) were ascending the bank at the back side of the house we lodged in, and from whence these prisoners had to take their start, in running, what is generally called "the gauntlet."*—The other party, who came on from the back side, having none but scalps, stopped at the village, from where, as from the opposite side, the scalp yell was sounded, and resounded at intervals.

Scenes of this kind we could not help witnessing, while we were here; yet we had to keep ourselves in a manner close, until their *pretended*† rage was over. We had also by this time become uneasy, lest Girty should find us still here, on his return from war, knowing the orders he had given to the Frenchman respecting us. He *did* return, and behaved like a madman, on hearing that we were here, and that our conductor had disobeyed his orders, and had sent a letter to the commandant at Detroit respecting us. He flew at the Frenchman, who was in the room adjoining ours,

* See Heckewelder's Historical account of the Indians, chapter xxvii. page 200

† They are apt, on such occasions, to try to frighten people, though they mean no harm to them.

most furiously; striking at him, and threatening to split his head in too, for disobeying the orders he had given him. He swore the most horrid oaths respecting us, and continued in that way until after midnight. His oaths were all to the purport, "that he never would leave the house, until he had split our heads in two with his tomahawk, and made our brains stick to the walls of the room, in which we were!"—I omit the names he called us by, and the words he made use of while swearing; as also the place he would go to, if he did not fulfil all which he had sworn that he would do to us. He had somewhere procured liquor, and would, (as we were told by those who were near him) at every drink renew his oaths, which he repeated until he fell asleep.

Never before, did any of us, hear the like oaths; or known any body to rave like him. He appeared like an host of evil spirits. He would sometimes come up to the bolted door between us and him, threatening to chop it in pieces, to get at us. No Indian, we had ever seen drunk, would have been a match for him. How we should escape the clutches of this white beast in human form, no one could foresee. Yet at the proper time relief was at hand, for on the morning at break of day and while he still was sleeping, two large flat bottomed boats arrived from Detroit, for the purpose of taking us to that place. This was joyful news! and seeing the letter written by the commandant, to Mr. Arundle respect-

ing us, we were satisfied that we would be relieved from the hands of this wicked white savage, whose equal, we were led to believe, was (perhaps) not to be found among mankind.

The letter from the commandant—after first thanking the gentlemen here, for their kindness to us; next requested them to inform him, if they knew any of the persons, who had taken the liberty of insulting us, either before or since we had arrived at this place, and if so, to give him their names, that he might punish them, &c.—That he had given strict orders to the sergeant, who was to take us on, to treat us kindly—not endanger our lives on the lake (Erie) by sailing in stormy weather, nor even to proceed, when he found that we consided it dangerous, or showed marks of fear, and finally: that Francis Lavallie, who had brought us so carefully thus far, should continue with us, till our arrival at Detroit; and guard us against any insults, which might be intended against us by Indians, &c." The letter being read to captain Girty* by Mr. Arundle, in the morning: we saw no more of him while here.

On the morning of the 14th day of April, after a stay of near four weeks at this place, we, after taking an effectionate leave of our humane and hospitable

* This Girty is the same, who in the spring of the year 1778 had ran off from Pittsburg, with M'Kee, Elliot, and others, and joined the Indians against the people of the United States, under a commission from the British government.

hosts, Arundle and Robbins ; embarked in the boats, with seven men of the kings' rangers to each boat, the one under the care of sergeant Race, and the other under a corporal of the same name. The boats were either rowed or put under sail, as the wind was favourable ; but lying too in boisterous weather. We were on the whole voyage treated by the boatsmen, with kindness ; and not an oath was heard during the voyage.

Being on the 20th landed at Detroit, we were for the present lodged in a new room in the barracks, where the commandant soon came to see us, rejoicing that we had escaped the dangers, that were hanging over our heads, while we remained at Sandusky ; he having had the most authentic information to that effect, and which was the sole cause of his having taken us from that place. He now left it entirely at our option, to remain at Detroit, or be sent to Bethlehem, by way of the lakes, &c. meanwhile giving orders, that we should be supplied with provisions, and any other thing we might stand in need of. After a few weeks, we moved into a newly finished house, about one hundred yards from the town, where we enjoyed more rest and quiet.

By an English trader, who had been at the Christian Indians' village at Upper Sandusky since we came away, we learnt with pleasure, that those forsaken Indians, frequently met together for the purpose of exhorting one another, to abide faithful—and to sing

hymns of praises to the Lord, and that he had several times been at those meetings, and was much affected, when he saw them weeping on account of the loss of their teachers—Some few however, gave them trouble and became perfidious, in consequence of having been told, by the enemies of the gospel, that their teachers were the cause of all their misfortunes; and even of their friends and countrymen being murdered. In these false reports, the white people among them, Elliot and Girty, had the greatest share. Besides this, the half king of the Wyandots, was so incessantly tormented by his evil conscience, that he could not rest, as long as any Christian Indians were in his neighbourhood; their presence always reminding him of his treacherous* behaviour towards them, and their teachers; and he also feared, that they might take revenge upon him. He therefore now sent a preremptory order to them to depart from his country entirely. They obeyed, and most of them proceeded for the present to the Sciota, while others stopped for a while, in the neighbourhood at Pipestown—all however intending to meet together after some time on the Miami of the lake, and there establish themselves.

From the time the Christian Indians were murdered on the Muskingum, the savages had continually kept spies out, to guard against being surprised by

* The Hurons, or Wyandots are of the Iroquois, or Six Nation stock, and in treachery the same. So say the Delawares.

the Americans. There was not a public place on the Ohio, from Pittsburg to Grave creek, below Wheeling, left unobserved. Thus, when in May, two months after the above murder was committed, the white settlers were seen in agitation, as if preparing for some enterprise ; the news was brought to the towns, and so, from day to day, until these had crossed the Ohio river ; and even their first place of encampment on this side of that river, was reconnoitred. Nay, they were even so early, in discovering the intentions of a force collecting, that they urged the commandant at Detroit to assist them with troops, to join in fighting them on their arrival ; and a body of the rangers were in time enough at Sandusky, to meet and join them, though they had to cross the lake and travel a great distance into the country. The murdering party—for their famous commander Williamson was with them again,—had taken a straight direction to the Christian Indians' village, at Upper Sandusky, but finding no " Moravian" Indians there, they turned on the path towards the towns of the savages, which was exactly what the assembled warriors wished for ; and these, having reached a certain spot in an open prairie, where they had no hiding places, while the former were under cover of a grove of trees ; they engaged them, *compelling* them to fight. And it was said that they would have completely routed the whole of them, —(though by the papers they were said to have been five hundred strong,) had it not been for the lateness

of the day, and that the Indians were hourly in expecta tion of a large reinforcement from the Shawanese towns.

The plan now being, that they would surround them during the night, and at day break attack them from all sides; they moved on at the proper time, when however, to their mortification, they discovered that the heroes had fled during the night; not choosing, as it appeared, to stand an engagement with the kind of "warriors" they met here. Some few, who were not awoke from their sleep when their comrades went off, were found yet in that condition, lying in the high grass. Many bundles of ropes, and ready made halters, to take off the plunder, and horses which would fall into their hands, were collected in the prairie. It seemed, that they calculated on taking much booty home with them, but finding themselves mistaken, they chose rather to loose their baggage, than run the risk of loosing their lives. In the pursuit, many were killed, and poor col. Crawford, together with a doctor M'Knight, had the misfortune to be taken prisoners.—"Where is Williamson, the head murderer?" was the call of the Indians from every quarter. They being told, that he had been one of the first who fled from the ground, they cryed out; "revenge! revenge! on those we have in our power, for the murder of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum, and our friends at Pittsburg!"—"These (said they to one another) have come out on a similar

expedition, and with the *same* men who committed that atrocious murder on our friends and relations, to do the same to us, they are all alike!—they want our country from us, and know no better way of obtaining it, than by killing us first! for this very reason they killed the believing Indians, and our relations at Pittsburg!" They called aloud for the surviving Christian Indians to come forward and take revenge on these prisoners; but they having removed, their savage relations stepped forward in their stead.—The fire was kindled, and poor Crawford tied to the stake.—Torturing had not begun, when it occurred to him, that he had one particular Indian friend, by name, Wingemund—"where is my friend Wingemund?" he called out—"I wish to see him!"—This Indian chief being sent for, an interesting, and somewhat affectionate conversation,* took place between them, yet without producing the effect, the colonel had faintly calculated on; he hoping, that both by the influence his Indian friend had with the nation, and the intercession he would make in his behalf, his life might be saved, in which however he found himself grievously mistaken; for at this time, or, as the case then stood, it was not in the power of any man, or even body of men, to save the life of one, who had been of the party, and doomed to suffer in Williamson's stead, who had escaped. He was told by the

* See Heckewelder's Account of Indian Nations, chap. xxxviii. page 281.

exasperated crowd, "that he came out with the worst kind of murderers, even such, as the Indians had not amongst them. Indians," (said they), "kill their enemies, but not their friends! when they have once reached out their hand to a prisoner, and called him by the name, 'friend!' they do not afterwards kill him! But how did you do to the believing Indians on the Muskingum! Did you not always tell them that you were their firm friends; and did you not, when you lately came up to them, hail, and welcome them as such?--You assured them of your friendship towards them; telling them, that they need not fear any harm from you! and what did you afterwards do? Did you not then accuse them of being warriors, knowing at the time that they were not such? Did they run *from* you when they saw you coming? Did they fire a single shot at you? Did you ever hear warriors pray to God, and sing praises to him as they did? Could not the shrieks and cries of the innocent little children, excite you to pity, and to save their lives; and if you would remove them, take them with you as prisoners? No! it did not! You, who would have the Indians believe you were believers (Christians), because you have the great book (the bible) among you, are in your hearts murderers! never would the believing Indians have done what you did, though the great spirit never put this book into their hands as he did in yours; and further, taught you to read all that he wanted you to do—and what was forbidden

by him, that you should not do ! These Indians however believed all that their teachers told them, of what was *written* in the book, and believing it, strove to act accordingly ! It was on account of the great book you have, that these Indians trusted so much to what you told them ! We knew you better than they did ! We often warned them to beware of you, and your pretended friendship ; but they would not believe us !—they believed nothing but good of you, and for this they paid with their lives !"

This, was in substance what was spoken to the unfortunate sufferer, (colonel Crawford) previous to his being put to the torture, to which he replied : " that he was not an accomplice in that attrocious act."—His being however, taken in company with the very man who led the party on, and who was at the committing of that cruel act, was so much against him, that no one would even listen to an apology. He was told " that no man on earth could save his life—not even the king of England, were he here with all his treasures. That the blood of those innocent Indians, whom they had murdered, must be avenged in an exemplary manner."

There was further, a circumstance much against this unfortunate man, and which enraged the Indians to a high degree. It was reported that the Indian spies (who were sent to watch the movements of the party,) had, on examining their camp on this side of the Ohio, (after they had left it,) found on trees, peal-

ed for the purpose, the words written with coal, and other mineral substances :* "*No quarters to be given to an Indian, whether man, woman, or child.*" It was even said, that papers with these words written on them were picked up in their camp, all which was sufficient to enrage them.

The torture Crawford had to endure, was a double one ; during which, he was often mockingly asked, how he felt ; and whether they did as well to him, as he had done to the believing Indians ; they adding, "we have to learn barbarities of you white people !"

The other prisoner, (Dr. M'Knight,) taken at the same time ; and who had been sentenced to have the like torture inflicted on him at another place, was committed to the custody of a Delaware Indian, named *Tuteleu*, (a rough looking man, yet of an easy disposition,) from whom the prisoner found means of effecting his escape, before they had reached the place of his destination, and he arrived safe in the settlement of the white people, though much worn down by hunger and fatigue.

The before mentioned affair being concluded, and

* The Indians are in the practice of transcribing any thing written by the white people on the trees, after first peeling, or stripping them of the bark. They then transcribe the writing and take the copy with them to have it read by a person who can read. This work they do so well, that it is perfectly legible. It is done either with a coal on a skin, or a piece of bark, or the letters are scratched with a knife or flint.

the Indians and rangers therein engaged, being again returned to their respective homes; the commandant, who kept in mind, our reply to his proposal, (of sending us to Bethlehem,) which was, "that, both from duty and affection, we could not resolve—nor did we think ourselves permitted, in the hour of trial, to forsake our scattered flock entirely:" He now proposed: to send us safe to the Miami of the lake, where we might gather our scattered people, and settle under his protection. We thanked him for the kind offer he made us, observing however, "that from all we had witnessed, while we were settled on the other side of the lake, we thought we had reason to believe, that the same enemies to the gospel, who had hitherto troubled and persecuted us, were still in that country, and probably would soon be with us again, should we cross the lake—and that, in making this observation, we did not allude to Indian enemies only!" He took the hint, and replied: "I understand you, and indeed believe you are right!" From this time he sought in good earnest, to accommodate and settle us at a place on this side (Detroit side) of the lake, where our Indians could be with us, and out of the reach of all danger from the war.

The commandant, having (after making enquiry for the purpose,) ascertained that the country on the river Huron, about thirty miles north of Detroit, was in every respect favourable, offering every advantage towards forming Indian settlements; he next sought

for, and obtained permission of the Chippewas, who claimed the land, for us to settle thereon, until a peace should take place; and having done this, he advised us, to send a message out to our Indians, to invite them to come on; in which he also assisted us.

Messages were therefore prepared and sent, both to those who were fled to the Sciota, and those on the Miami of the lake. That in writing, sent by the the commandant, (by a Frenchman,) to the first mentioned place, having come to Elliot's hands, he did all he could to dissuade our Indians from ever joining us again. He added, "that whichever of them, should be so foolish to go there, might rest assured, that the Chippewas would kill them!" The verbal message to our Indians on Miami, was sent by a Shawanese Indian, who faithfully delivered it, encouraging the Indians to whom the speech had been directed, to accept the invitation; the effect of which was: that on the second day of July, we had the pleasure of welcoming two families,—and shortly after, two others; with whom, were the venerable national assistant Abraham, who all erected huts near our dwelling, and were supplied with provisions, out of the king's stores.

On the arrival of these Indians, daily meetings were held, though for want of a convenient place, they were kept in the open air, when the weather permitted; to which, some of the citizens, and the prisoners who were adjoining us, attended; and who, declared themselves happy, in having an opportunity of hearing

the gospel preached, there being no protestant minister in the place. They were also delighted with the devotion of the Indian hearers, and their singing. Children were also frequently baptized by the missionaries.

While we were taking measures to remove to the river Huron, and make a beginning with the twenty-eight Christian Indians, now with us, we had the joy to receive letters from our Brethren La'Trobe and Wollin, in London, dated 19th and 20th of March last (1782) and brought from thence by sir John Johnson, who was lately arrived at Montreal; by which it appeared, that the account of our being taken prisoners on the Muskingum, and led captives to Sandusky, had reached England, through a Philadelphia newspaper. These Brethren, on receiving the account, immediately took measures towards relieving our wants, which they naturally supposed to be great, (as indeed was the case,)—by procuring permission from the members of the society, for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen, to send a letter of credit in our favour, for one hundred pounds sterling, to a trading house in Montreal. How thankful we were to that society, and those Brethren for this valuable, and seasonable present, especially, as we had now in a manner to begin in the world anew, not having sufficient clothes and bedding to secure ourselves against the cold of this climate. Even the commandant rejoiced with us, and suggested a way

to obtain the money, although, it would probably not be before the following spring; as the distance was great, and no passage to Montreal during the winter season. But Mr. John Askin, the gentleman to whom the governor advised us to apply to procure the money, very generously offered to pay us the whole immediately, on our bare word, that such a letter of credit had been sent to the house in Montreal; which he accordingly did.

The commandant, having also liberally assisted us in various ways, furnishing us with provisions, a boat, a quantity of plank, together with some necessary utensils, two milch cows and some horses; at the same time, his kind lady presented us with roots, and an assortment of garden seeds, &c. The Brethren, Zeisberger and Youngman, with their wives, and the single Brethren, Edwards and Young, set out with nineteen of our Indians, on the 20th of July, for the new place, and arrived there the next day in the evening, while the missionaries, Senseman and Heckewelder, (the writer of this,) with their families, and the remainder of the Christian Indians who had come on, remained at Detroit, to attend to the concerns of the reviving mission. The new place they were gone to, they called Gnadenhutten. The first meeting, was held there on the evening of their arrival, when thanks and praises were offered to the Lord, for his mercies—and his further blessing, assistance and protection implored.

The dispersed Christian Indians, kept coming in, though but few at a time, as the nation to which they belonged, attempted to resist their leaving the country ; considering those who went off, as lost to their relations, and the nation. They had therefore to go off privately, and during the night. Their departure occasioned disputes among the savages, one laying the blame on the other, but they bore the hardest on those, who were the instigators for removing the Christian Indians from the Muskingum, and afterwards from Sandusky. "We told you" (said they,) "that the believing Indians, would follow their teachers wherever they went ; and you see, we told you the truth."

On the 21st. of September the communion was held here for the first time, and on the 5th. of November the Meeting-house was consecrated; fifty three Christian Indians being present. Proper arrangements having been made at Detroit, for the reception of all Christian Indians, who from time to time might arrive, those Missionaries, who remained at Detroit, had previous to this Meeting, joined the congregation on the Huron river.

The Chippewas beginning to visit us, no pains were spared by the national assistants, in preaching the gospel to them ; but they were found to be a people of little or no reflection, and who cared for nothing but the daily calls of nature ; and herein they are even indolent; plant little, and live chiefly by hunting and fishing ; eating many things which a Dela-

ware or Shawanese Indian, would not relish. They eat frogs, muskrats, dogs, &c. nay, even the flesh of dead horses, the same as the Calmuc Tartar.

The commandant, now colonel De Peyster, who so kindly furnished us with the necessary provisions, did the same, to all our Indians passing through Detroit to join us, or otherwise coming on business. He also took pleasure in informing us that, all he had done for us, met the approbation of the commander in chief, general Haldimand, in Lower Canada.

This year, although closed with grief and sorrow, on account of what befel the congregation, was withal remarkable, in consequence of the deliverance, of more than two thirds of the brethren, from the hands of the destroyers; and the salvation of the missionaries, from the hands of the savages, all which we humbly and thankfully ascribed, to the gracious protection of a benign providence.

At the commencement of the year 1783, the Christian Indians, (with ourselves,) were comfortably accommodated with dwellings; for having always heard of the hard winters, or severity of the climate during that season of the year, we immediately built log houses; and having finished them, we commenced cutting down, and clearing the timber from the land, we intended to plant in the spring. The Indians also made a great quantity of maple sugar in the spring, and at intervals canoes, baskets, bowls, ladles and brooms, which they exchanged in the settlements

of the French Canadians, for provisions; game being plenty, they took what meat they could spare, together with their skins and furs, to Detroit, where they exchanged them for wearing apparel.

In July, we had the joy of hearing by the Brethren, Shabosh and Wygand, who, (after a journey of seven weeks,) arrived from Bethlehem, that peace was concluded between Great Britain and the United States. The first of these brethren, was one of those taken at Shonbrun, late in the fall of 1781, by that humane officer, Biggs, and who, immediately on their arrival at Pittsburg, went to Bethlehem, where he remained ever since. The joy, on meeting his family there, was great, though damped by reflecting on the barbarous manner, in which his son Joseph was murdered near Gnadenhutten, by Williamson's party.

Although, we were contented and happy in our situation; yet, on account of so many of our Indians being absent, we sometimes felt uneasy, especially, when we heard how much they wished to be with us, but were not suffered to go, by the savages living near them. Some were gone to the Twichtwees, (otherwise called "Miamis.")—The country where we were, was described to them, as a desolate, barren country, where nothing, planted, would come to perfection, and the Chippewas were represented as an illnatured and thievish race of Indians; and to make the prospect in going still more unfavourable, they

were told, the English nation would soon treat them in the same manner the Virginians had done.

However, three young brethren, took the resolution of venturing a journey to us, in order to learn the truth. They were so well pleased with what they saw and heard, that two of them immediately returned with the good news, and soon brought in forty-three of our people in a body; whom the commandant kindly assisted on the way, with provisions.

The savages seeing the Christian Indians determined on leaving them, disregarding both persuasions and even threats, now renewed their quarrelling among themselves. The Wolf tribe, with captain Pipe at their head, who wrested the power of governing the nation, from the Turtle tribe, was accused both by the latter and the Turkey tribe, of being incompetent to govern the nation, as nothing but disasters had been brought upon them, from the time he (Pipe) had usurped this power. They added, that instead of pursuing the course which the Turtle tribe had taken, who studied to spare and strengthen the nation; they roused the neighbouring nations, and particularly the Wyandots, to join in diminishing and impoverishing them!—And *Pachgantscihillas*,* the Delaware war chief on the Miami,

* This is the same great war chief, who in the spring of the year 1781, while at Gnadenhutten and Salem, with eighty of his warriors, had delivered himself so favourably with regard to the Christian Indians, and the choice they had made of being instructed in Christianity; and

(where a number of the Christian Indians resided,) being applied to by captain Pipe, "not to suffer the believing Indians to leave his territory," replied: that "he never would hinder any of them from going to their teachers!" and saying in his message to Pipe, "why did you expel them? Did I not tell you beforehand, that if you drove the teachers off, the believing Indians would follow them? but you would not listen to me, and now we lose both! Who (said this chief), is the cause of all those disasters, which have befallen these people! *I* say *you!—you!* who threatened them with destruction! *you*, who instigated the Wyandots to act the treacherous part they did, agreeing with them, that, as a recompense for their services, they should be entitled to all the plunder they could lay hold of!"

By the brethren Wygand and Young, who in September departed for Bethlehem, we, for the first time since our captivity, in September 1781, had an opportunity of sending letters to Bethlehem, and other places in the United States.

Although we planted for large corps of corn, that we might be able to supply all our Indians who might come in from time to time; yet, we were sadly disappointed. Mistaking the climate of this country for that on the Muskingum, we planted the wrong kind

being at peace with all men, &c. declaring that he never would have a hand in disturbing or distressing them.

of corn, which, when scarcely out of the milch, was exposed to the hard frosts which set in, by which it was frozen, and when afterwards a thaw came on, it rotted and had to be thrown away. This was a great disappointment, and we were apprehensive, that we would be put to great suffering, for a season. Otherwise, the congregation was internally in a happy course: all usual regulations, both as to the daily meetings—family exhortations, and visiting the sick, had, from the beginning taken place; and to see the happy exit of several, who departed this life during this year, was truly edifying.

With the new year of 1784, the weather became uncommonly boisterous, and the cold so very intense, that rivers, creeks, and the lake St. Clair, were soon covered with ice, which from day to day became thicker* and stronger. Next fell a snow of two feet deep, and in a few days after, another of much greater depth, so that both together, measured full five feet on a level How gloomy was the prospect before us! Our Indians soon began to suffer, and we, in a great measure, with them. Grain was not only scarce with us, but had become a scarce article throughout the settlement of the white people, (or French Canadians), and the winter being through the whole country the same, those who had grain, would not part with any, but keep it to save themselves and their

* On measuring, the ice was found to be three feet two inches thick on the lake, at the distance of a mile from the shore.

cattle from starving.—Many emaciated countenances, were a sad token of the distress, of the poorer people. The nearest settlements, were at the distance of twenty miles from us. We had no stables as yet, for our cattle, and what little fodder we had, was but indifferent, the frost, having been so hard before it was cut and cured. When we cut trees down for fire wood, the trunks were buried in the snow, which made it a most laborious business, to procure this article.

While relief, both for man and beast, seemed to be out of our reach; we were taught by the instinct of our beasts, that much was to be found, almost at our doors. That a wise and benign providence, had provided the means of subsistence, for all living creatures, even in the cold and dreary regions of Canada, appeared evident. Buried, as we almost were in the snow, with the cattle standing close to our doors; they would raise their heads towards the river, which lay but a short distance from the village, as if they wished to go there, and the Indians supposing this was occasioned by their want of drink, melted snow for them, to satisfy their thirst;—seeing however, that they still kept casting eager looks in the same direction, and with their noses raised, as though they smelt something, we were all at a loss to know the cause. While this was the case, two deers, that came down the river on the ice opposite the village, were shot; they being opened to see what they had fed upon, it was found, that their stomachs were fill-

ed with the *scrub grass*,* (Equisetum hyemale.) The Indians, attentive to the discovery, all joined in working a way for the cattle to get to the river, or on the ice; as soon as this was effected, the cattle were seen, ranging along the banks, where they found the green scrub grass pasture in abundance, not only along the river banks,† but along the frozen ponds, adjoining the same, where "breeks," or fields of hundreds of acres of this grass was presented to them. The suffering Indians being by this, taught where the deer where to be looked for, could now daily get as much meat as they wanted, as by making themselves *ruckets*, they could walk over the snow without sinking; whilst the deer could not escape them, either in the snow, or on the ice. It was indeed astonishing, to see the meat that was daily brought in, and we found, that during the three months that the snow lay so deep, upwards of one hundred deer were taken from the rush meadows and the river; some of them being run down, or caught by the dogs, were brought alive to the village, and there fed with the scrub grass, gathered for the purpose, and finally, in the spring, taken alive to Detroit, and sold.

Strange as it may appear, yet it is a fact; that even

* Scrub, and scour grass, so called, as it is made use of in scouring pewter, &c.

† The high winds in Canada, which always succeed a fall of snow, blow all the snow off of the ice, whether it be frozen lakes, rivers, ponds, &c. so that the deer and cattle can get at this food.

our hogs lived chiefly upon those rushes, or the sap or juice thereof, for after chewing the stalks, until they had drawn the juicy substance out, they would drop the cud, and take a fresh bite. Both these and the horned cattle, were not only saved from starving during the winter, but were in fine order in the spring. Even the fowls would eat it greedily, after being cut up in small pieces of the size of a grain of Indian corn; and the Indians say, that they lay more eggs when fed with rushes, than when fed with corn; but to the horses, (who are equally fond of it,) it proved fatal. A lean horse would get fat on them in four or five weeks, but if left to feed a few weeks longer, they would surely die. On examining into the cause of this, it was discovered, that their stomachs were cut up, or worn quite thin, and full of small holes, like a sieve; whereas, with horn cattle,* and deer who chewed the cud, the roughness, or sharpness of the grass had not this effect. We lost two thirds of our horses, before the discovery was made.

By daily observation on the weather, from the beginning of January, when the first snow fell, to the beginning of March, there was not (during the whole time,) more than four clear sunshine days, the sky

* In November of the year following this, an Innkeeper of Detroit, sent about thirty head of very lean cattle, which had been brought in from the United States, to the rush meadows, within three miles of our village, and some salt to one of our people, to salt them once a week. These cattle, which had not once attempted to go off, were all, before the winter was over, fit for the knife.

being daily, more or less overcast with either blue, black or red flying clouds. During this time, the snow had settled, and become so hard, that we could walk over it; and by the second week in April, it had so much diminished, that our Indians began to manufacture maple sugar, of which, they in the course of the season, made a considerable quantity. Shortly after this, the river becoming clear of ice, they caught fish in abundance; and after the snow had gone off entirely, they gathered cranberries and crab apples, and dug up wild potatoes.* They then began to prepare the ground for tillage, (in the best manner they could,) taking care however, to procure the kind of Indian corn for seed, that would ripen in the country.

Towards the end of May, the commandant of Detroit, col. de Peyster, having informed us by letter, that he would shortly leave the place, being appointed to the command at some other station; we presented our friend and benefactor, our best thanks, for the many useful services, he had rendered, both to us, and our Indians; hoping, that the Lord would reward him. He assured us, "that he felt for our misfortunes, in being so ill treated, both on the Muskingum and Sandusky, and that he saw no other way of saving our lives, than by removing us entirely from the Indian country—that since we were here, he had with pleasure served and assisted

* Glycine Apios.

us, whenever it was in his power; and that he would also recommend us, and our Indians to his successor, believing that we would likewise find a friend in him!"

The British government, having appointed another governor for Upper Canada; we waited on his excellency, John Hay, esq. on his arrival at Detroit, and were very politely received by him. This gentleman informed us: "that the late governor Hamilton and himself, had been examined at home by the government, respecting the very ill treatment we met with from some British officers,* who, with a number of Indian warriors, took us from our settlements on the Muskingum, plundering and robbing us, and whose conduct was much censured!—that our captivity had made a great stir at home! That one of our bishops in England, had waited upon sir John Johnson, (and governor Hamilton, also being present)—for the purpose of representing the situation of the Brethren's mission among the North American Indians at this time, in consequence of what had befallen them—and recommending them to their particular notice, and future protection, &c. Further, he assured us, that government had taken measures, respecting the Brethren's missions among the Indians, that they were in no wise to be molested, in their

* Matthew Elliot, called captain Elliot, was the only British officer, if he really was one, who took us off from the Muskingum.

labours amongst these people ; but on the other hand supported and protected ; and that already orders for that purpose, had been sent out to all commanders of posts, agents, &c. He assured us of his regard and friendship ; and would gladly serve us in any way, when it was in his power :" but, to our grief, he, in the summer, fell sick and died.

After the death of this governor, major William Ancrum, was appointed commandant of this post, and its dependences ; in whom we also found a real friend.

The town of the Christian Indians, began and built in a wilderness, had by this time become a pleasant place. The street having been laid out regularly, and the houses well built, gave it a good appearance, to which the adjoining cleared lands and gardens, added not a little. Every visitor from Detroit, reporting on his return what he had seen here, drew many to the spot, to become also witnesses of the industry of the Indians ; a spectacle, they had never before seen. Even the commandant (major Ancrum) with two of his officers, and our good friend Mr. John Askin, came at one time on a visit to us. But what was pleasing to the white visitors, was not so to the Chippewas, who were the owners of the land we lived on. These had long complained of our remaining so long on their land, saying, it being now peace we ought to go off, and live on land of our own, adding that they wanted the land we lived on, for their own use ; as this part of the country was one

of their best hunting grounds ; on which we had already killed too much of their game, &c."—The commandant unto whom their complaints became known ; took great pains to make their minds easy for a while longer, but as all Indian nations, are very covetous of their lands, knowing, that by loosing the land, they also loose the game on it, accordingly they were continually urging the Christian Indians to go off—and to show that they were in earnest about it, they made use of threatening language, if we did not remove.

The Christian Indians, could not blame the Chippewas for wanting what was their own, but they at the time were at a loss where to go to, if obliged to go off. They had no inclination to cross the lake, and dwell amongst a people, who had treated them so ill, and sought their destruction. Neither was it at this time advisable, to cross the lake (Erie) to settle in that country, as the Indians there were far from being satisfied with the terms of peace, offered them by the United States ;—they therefore requested the Chippewas, to permit them to stay only one year longer ; which was granted.

The crops having this season yielded abundantly, was, among other benefits, matter of praise and thanksgiving, to the disposer of all good, who so manifestly had supported the congregation throughout the whole year ; although the prospect had been so gloomy at the commencement of it.

In May 1785, the missionaries Youngman and

Senseman, returned with their families to Bethlehem; it being uncertain, when we could cross the lake, to establish a new missionary settlement in that country.

During this year, we frequently were visited by Indians who were strangers to us; generally Delawares and Mohegans. One time there arrived upwards of forty of them in a body, and at another time about the same number, but mostly of the Nanticok tribe, all of whom behaved civilly, and attended divine service during their stay.

In the winter following, when the rivers were covered with ice, a great number of wolves came into the parts, traversing the country in packs, and attacking every animal they could meet. They came sometimes into our village, attacking and killing our hogs; they would even sometimes seize the largest of them. At one time they attacked and killed a Chippewa man and his wife. At another time, one of our Indian brethren, coming from Detroit on the ice, was pursued by a pack of those animals for several miles, but he being furnished with skates, they could not come up with him. Many however were killed by our Indians, who decoyed them to places where they destroyed themselves.*

* The Indians fasten a musket loaded with buck or swan shot, to the ground, at the end of, and close beside the trunk of a large long log, or fallen tree, with the muzzle fixed toward the other end, and raised so as to point to the object intended, next a string or thin cord, measur-

The Chippewas continuing in th eir determination, that the Christian Indians should move off of their land; and the commandant, in consequenc e, having advised the latter not to erect any more buildings, or clear any more land at this place; they had no alternative, but to look for a place where they could remove to; and the Walhanding river on the south side of Erie, being spoken of, we thought proper, previously to our crossing the lake, to dispatch one of the missionaries, with two or three of our Indian brethren to Pittsburg, there to learn whether it would be advisable and safe for us to return, and settle on that river.

Accordingly the missionary Edwards, who with some of our Indians, had in July last set out on this errand, were now returned, and brought us every in-

ing the exact distance, from where the gun is tied down; to the far end of the log or tree, and to which at the one end, a piece of meat is fastened, while the other end is tied to the trigger. Then gathering, or cutting small brush, they enclose the gun and line from one end to the other—similar to a light brush fence, which is to keep the animal from entering the enclosure, at any place from the side, which if not prevented, he, by touching the string with his foot might cause the gun to go off to no purpose. If the log or tree, by the side of which the line is, is not supposed to be of sufficient height, to prevent the wolf from leaping over, small brush is also laid throughout on this log. The wolf in his range, getting the scent of the meat, and coming up, seeks for an open place to come at it, which, being in front of the muzzle of the gun, which has been cocked, the moment he lays hold of the meat, he draws the trigger and is shot. I have in the year 1773 seen sixteen heads of wolves which were killed in this manner, brought in, in the course of ten days.

formation is'ed for ;—indeed, much more than we ever expected. By our letters from Bethlehem and other places, we observed that congress had expressly reserved, out of the land ceded to them by the Indians at the late treaty ; the district formerly occupied by (and by Indian gift belonging to) the Christian Indians for their use. And that the surveyor general was to lay off this land for them, (the Christian Indians) as soon as it could be done. The same intelligence we likewise found in Philadelphia newspapers brought along, which being made known to the Indians, gave them joy.

The missionaries, who had the best opportunity of learning the causes of the disturbances and wars between the white people and the Indians, believed this wise resolution of congress, would go a great way in preventing bloodshed in future ; for, to them it was well known, that whilst the white people were not checked, from going on in the same manner as heretofore ; murdering Indians, breeding disturbances, and thereby finally getting possession of their lands : there never could be a lasting peace. This resolution of congress was therefore, on the one hand a disappointment to those who had murdered so many of the Indians, with a view of becoming the possessors of their land, while on the side of the Indians, it served to convince them, that the government of the United States, were not accessary to those murders, as

they had so often been told by wicked and designing men. Again, all the Indians became thereby satisfied, that congress were in earnest, and spake the truth, when, at the commencement of the war, they told them, that "all the Indian nations or tribes who should sit still, not taking up the hatchet against them during the contest, would be considered as friends, and have their land secured to them and their offspring, if finally they should prove victorious; while those who had fought against them, would loose their land, &c.

In consequence of the above favourable news, every preparation was made to leave the place in the spring, and bend our course to the Muskingum, of which intention we also informed the commandant, major Ancrum, who, to favour our design, sent a formal message to the Indian tribes on that side of the lake, not to molest the believing Indians; when they a rrived there.

However attached we had become to the place we lived at, yet to be tenants as it were on the "land of strangers," was not agreeable to our Indians. We were not once, during the time we lived on the land, called upon to join in the war. Neither the British government, nor the Indians gave us any trouble on that account, but we lived as quiet and undisturbed, as if no war existed;—and as long as the Chippewas asked no more of us, than what fell in the provision way: they were served with pleas-

sure: but now a case occurred, which gave us all much uneasiness, and caused us to wish ourselves away without further delay. There had, namely, within a year past, been several attrocious murders* and robberies committed about Detroit, without any person being able to discover, who the perpetrators of the horrid deeds were, although no pains were spared to find them out. Every where, both in the town of Detroit, and throughout the settlements the people were alarmed, and struck with terror, many not thinking themselves safe in their own houses, especially at night.

It being at length discovered, by a fresh attack made on a Mr. Jacobs, a trader and his hands, while on their way to Sagina, about sixty miles distant from Detroit and in which Jacobs and one of his men lost their lives; that this gang of murderers, consisted of a father and his two sons, one of whom however was shot dead by Jacobs, after being mortally wounded himself. The commandant, immediately sent for all the chiefs of the Chippewas to come in, who on their arrival were told, that unless they took, and delivered up to him, the perpetrators of these horrid deeds; all intercourse and trade with their nation would be interdicted—and, until this was done, some of them must be retained as hostages!

The murderers learning, that their chiefs had become responsible, for their being taken, and delivered

* See Heckewelder's Account of Indian nations, chapter vii. page 96.

up to the commandant ; became more daring, declaring; " that they neither feared their chiefs, the commandant, nor any other person, and would continue in the same way, of murdering white people, without respect to persons, and never suffer themselves to be taken, but would kill every person, whether Indian or white man, who would attempt to lay hands upon them, &c."

The chiefs, being harrassed by all parties to rid the country of those murderers, and seeing no way of accomplishing this, now applied to the Christian Indians, to assist them, saying : " that they, (the Delawares,) being their grandfather, would not be suspected by them ! that they might take them without running any risk !—and, should they even happen to fail in the attempt of taking them alive, they were at liberty to stab or shoot them," giving also at the time, a minute description of their persons, that they might be able to distinguish them from other Indians.

Such an extraordinary demand, could not be admitted. No nation would dare to interfere in the concerns of another, and especially when murder is connected therewith. The demand was so much against the inclination of the Christian Indians, that they felt a disgust for the country and people in it ; and wished themselves away immediately. Luckily, after some time, the father and his surviving son, were by the art and cunning of a young white man, who had

worked himself into their confidence, conducted to Detroit, when at once all fears of danger, were done away.*

The debts, which the Christian Indians necessarily contracted, during the time they lived in Detroit and the settlements, (and which amounted to a large sum,) were all discharged. For this they were particularly thankful, and under obligations to their good friend Mr. John Askin at Detroit, who, in due time, put them in the way of clearing themselves of all debts; namely, by raising as great a quantity of Indian corn as they could, for which he gave them a stipulated price, at their doors. Encouraged by this kind offer, they strained every nerve, in enlarging their fields for the purpose, besides making a number of large trading canoes, which were also for the greater part bespoke by this gentleman, and some by others; so that, when they came to wind up accounts with their creditors, they could not only pay off their debts, but most of them had so much money left, that they could purchase for themselves, cows and pigs, on their arrival at Cayahaga.

The nearer the time came for our departure, the more stories were propagated as to the danger we would throw ourselves into, by returning into our country, before a firm peace had been established,

* Heckewelder's Historical Account, &c. chap. vii. p. 96

between the United States, and the Indian nations. It was repeatedly said, and indeed with some truth; that the Indians, were far from being satisfied with the treaties which had been held with them, by commissioners appointed by congress—and that a new war would before long take place, &c. It appeared also that the people at Detroit, were of the same belief.

Nevertheless, on the 20th of April, we met for the last time in the chapel, to offer up prayers and praises to the Lord; thanking him for all benefits bestowed, and mercies recieved from him in this place, and praying for a continuance of the same, and his kind protection; after which, we set out in canoes for Detroit, where, on our arrival we met with a kind reception, both from the commandant, and the inhabitants of the place; the former supplying us with provisions during our stay of several days, as also with the necessary articles for the journey.

During our stay, a meeting was appointed, for the Christian Indians to express their thanks to the Chippewa chiefs, their grandchildren; for having permitted them to dwell in their country, so long a time; and for the peace they enjoyed while therein. As a token of their gratitude, they presented them with a large bunch of wampum, containing some thousand beads. One of the chiefs rising from his seat, said in reply: "grandfather! I love you, and would rather you would return again to the Huron river, and live with us!" which reply was

well understood, as a bare compliment, (they well knowing that they would not return;) a friendly leave was taken on both sides at parting.

It was truly pleasing, to hear the merchants and other citizens of the place, speak respectfully of our Indians; calling them an orderly, industrious, honest and Christian people; and declaring themselves sorry, to see them depart.

Having taken leave of all friends, and in particular of the commandant, major Ancrum, and of our benefactor John Askin, esq. whose many services, rendered both to the missionaries, and their Indians, will never be forgotten; we embarked on the 28th inst. on board this gentleman's two trading vessels, the Beaver, and the Mackinaw, for Cayahaga, on the south side of lake Erie.

The captains of these vessels, calculated on a voyage of but a few days to Cayahaga river, where we were to be landed, provided the wind was favourable, and the channel of the river as open as it had been the last season. Dropping down the Detroit river, we anchored in the afternoon at the mouth, for the night; and being early next morning under way, we reached the Bass islands, by dusk, where we anchored. Here however, we had by high, and for the greater part, contrary winds and stroms, to lay too, for four successive weeks; shifting our anchorage, according to the wind, and when very stormy, we ran into Hope's cove, or put in the bay. An attempt was

at one time made, to get into the Cayahaga, but found impracticable, at least for the Beaver, she drawing more water than the Mackinaw, which was a small flat bottomed vessel. It was also evident, from the breakers at the mouth of the river, that the sand from the blowing winds, which came from the opposite shore, had in a great measure lodged itself in the channel, and there being no other place, within a great distance where the vessel could anchor with safety, we again returned to our former station.

Seeing no prospect of coming to our journeys end in this way : it was resolved that the Mackinaw should take all our baggage, and a few of our people to Cayahaga, and we be landed by the vessels' boats on the main shore opposite to these Islands, from whence we would take our chance, in getting along. Being landed at Rocky point, the Indians caught in the space of about two hours, upwards of five hundred white fish, that had retired during the high blowing wind, between Rocky island and the shore, where the water was about two feet deep. The fish lay so crowded together, that they were easily taken, by a kind of scoop net, made of a piece of linen, fixed between a pole with a wide spreading fork. Some even made use of the shirt from their backs, tying up the collar and the sleeves, while the shirt tail was fastened to a hoop, made of a piece of grape vine ; when, by dipping, or drawing it under the fish, they would seldom fail of taking several at a time ; and as quick as the

fish were taken to shore, the women cleansed and dryed them on scaffolds, over fires, made for the purpose.

We afterwards made several canoes of the bark of large Elm trees, which enabled some to proceed by water, (whilst others travelled by land,) for the mouth of the Cayahaga river, where the Mackinaw as to await our arrival. Those by land, found the journey very fatiguing, having to cross many gullies, rivulets, creeks, rivers, and swampy grounds; they not having a single horse to help them along; whilst those by water, (with whom the writer of this narrative, with his family were,) could frequently pass on under an easy sail. Having arrived after several days sailing, at the rocky shore, which commences about eight or nine miles west of the mouth of the Cayahaga river; we, in consequence of the frequent warnings given us at Detroit, not to risk running with canoes, along these rocks, as, if overtaken by a storm or high wind, blowing from the opposite shore of the lake, we would be in an instant dashed to pieces against the rocks; we made a stop for the rest of the day, that we might leisurely consider, on the best and safest way of proceeding on the morrow.

By the time we had unloaded and secured our canoes, by drawing them on the land, a number of Chippewas, in their fine large birch bark canoes, (who likewise were going to the Cayahaga;) came up; they seeing, that we lacked courage in venturing to pro-

ceed along this wall of rocks; endeavoured to persuade us to reload our canoes, and go in company with them to the mouth of that river, saying, they would pray to the great spirit, both for themselves, and for us, that we might safely pass this dangerous place; which one of them having done, by casting his eyes upwards, and making a short prayer, he next took his tobacco pouch up, when, having taken a hand full of Glecanecan (Indian tobacco,) out of it, he cast his eyes around from the north to the south, while he was imploring the manitto (spirit) who governs the winds, to prevent any storms from gathering or coming upon them, until they were out of danger; he threw the tobacco into the air. Then taking another handful he said, "and thou, manitto of the waters, (spirit or God of the waters) deign that those do not become turbulent and swallow us up; or dash us against this wall of rocks!" and having strewed this tobacco on the water: now, (said he) there is no more danger!" finding however, that we were not inclined to accompany them, they set sail, and went on.

In little more than an hour after these Chippewas left us, a most tremendous thunder gust came on from the north west, which obliged us on the land, quickly to shift our quarters from where we were, to an open place, where no falling trees could reach us; as they were blown down in every direction; some being torn up by the roots; while others were broken off near the tops. This rock wall, which we judged to

be between thirty and forty feet higer than the level of the water—and on which we got by an easy ascent at its western extremity, trembled by the force with which the dashing waves or swells ran against it, which came rolling over a sea of at least forty miles in breadth, the water at every dash, flying high above the wall. Dreadful indeed was the fore part of the night, and not an eye was closed by sleep ; but it having become calm on the land, after the storm had abated, the swells on the lake also decreased—and a light southerly wind blowing about three o'clock in the morning, assisted in turning the swells in a direction from the shore where we were. We had during that night held several consultations, as to the manner of proceeding to the Cayahaga river where the vessel lay, waiting our arrival. The Indians reported it impossible for women with small children, to travel the distance by land. The wind at break of day was as favourable as could be wished for—a gentle side wind blowing from the land and rocky shore. The canoe men full of courage, and being trusty hands, impatiently waited for the word to be given for loading the canoes and setting off. This being done at day light, we embarked, and running under an easy sail, first some distance into the lake, in order to have sea room, to run either way in case of an unfavourable wind rising ; we took our course for the mouth of the river, far enough from the land to be out of danger ; yet near enough to have a full view of this

natural phenomenon, the length of which is said to be eight or nine miles : which distance we made, in one hour aud thirty-five minutes. There appeared to be in this wall, several different strata of stone, and these of various colours ; all which lying horizontal, and so nearly parrallel, that they in some places, greatly resembled the work of art. The wind continuing to increase, at the time we were opposite to the east end of this wall, and the breakers running out into the lake to a great distance, from the mouth of the Cayahaga river ; we thought it safest to run in to shore at this place, from which the land was low and level for the last mile to the river. The captain of the Mackinaw, who, with his glass, had viewed our movements with great anxiety, fearing we might attempt to make the river through the breakers, when we infallibly must have been wrecked and sunk, our canoe being but small and too heavy laden ; rejoiced in seeing us run into shore at that place. He told us, that the Chippewas the day before, had fortunately, reached the rivers mouth, before the storm came on.

We now began to unload the vessel, although the land travellers, (who were the greatest body,) were not yet arrived ; which being finished, we commenced making canoes out of large chestnut trees ; and when the land travellers arrived, they joined us in the labour with a cheerfulness not to be described. But the season being already too far advanced, to think of planting corn on our arrival at the Muskingum, it being

this day the 18th of June, we resolved to select a a place on this river, where we might plant some corn and vegetables, and found a suitable situation within about a dozen miles from the lake, where it appeared there formerly was an Indian cornfield. Stopping here with our canoes, we chose the east side of the river, for our encampment, and there built temporary huts; while on the opposite side we prepared the ground for planting. It is indiscribable, how happy these poor Indians felt, on being released from so long a confinement, and again walking on their native soil: for with all Indians, to live upon the land of strangers, or land belonging to another nation or tribe than their own, it is next to being in confinement. They now cheerfully went to work, meeting daily for divine service, the same as they had done on the whole journey, whether on board the vessel, or on the land; and always in the open air.

To push on to the Muskingum at once, and settle on the land reserved for them by congress, was the intention of the Christian Indians, at the outset of their journey; but we now saw, that a wise providence decreed otherwise. The honorable William Henry, esq. a member of congress at that time, and a gentleman who for many years past, had taken a particular interest in the conversion of the Indians of this country; but who had witnessed, scenes the most shocking and cruel, which had been committed on the harmless and inoffensive Indians, by unprincipled

vagabond white people, among which was the murder of the Conestoga Indians, and although congratulating us by letter, on the good disposition of congress, in reserving for the Christian Indians their former towns on the Muskingum, yet, gave it as his private opinion: "that we would do well, not to be in too great a hurry in settling on these lands, as he had a bad opinion of the frontier white settlers, who had already murdered a great part of the congregation, and probably would at any time when they had an opportunity, be ready to do the same to others of the community, as these people sought to get the country to themselves. He hoped congress would, before long, pass and enforce such laws as would put an end to all future encroachments* on Indian lands; as, unless that was done, these intruders would keep the country perpetually at war with the Indians. Congress however, who wished that the Indians would shortly settle on the land, ordered colonel Harmer, to deliver them, on their calling on him at his post on the Ohio; five hundred bushels of corn, and one hundred blankets; which the Indians being informed of, they considered it as a token of the good disposition of that honorable body towards them, and were thankful, though it was out of their power, to go for the articles at such a distance; they having no horses.

The honorable Charles Thomson, esq.* Secretary of

* Tomohock improvements, (as they were called) made on Indian lands, were then customary. Numbers of these were made on the Christian Indians' lands, after these were murdered.

congress* who was well known to be an admirer, and well wisher to the Brethren's missions among the Indians: expressed himself in a letter to the bishop Ettwein "that he would deem himself happy, in being instrumental, in saving the precious remnant of the Indian congregation, and in promoting the general welfare of these poor people!"--He therefore earnestly reccommended the cause of the Christian Indians, both to Mr. James White,* agent of Indian affairs south of the Ohio, as also to general Richard Butler, agent for the northerndistrict, in which these Indians were situated. The latter gentleman, had previous to the war, been an eye witness to the labours of the Brethren among the Indians; and now assured the missionaries by a letter, "that he would do every thing in his power to serve them; and to promote the welfare of the mission in which they were engaged, &c.

The Brethren in Bethlehem, were not less sanguine in their wishes and expectations, of shortly seeing a new missionary establishment, on the Muskingum; while to the missionaries themselves, the prospect seemed involved in a cloud of darkness; or, for the present, hidden from their eyes. The savages had already signified their determination, not to suffer the Christian Indians to go and live on the Muskingum for the present, saying; that "they cared nothing for what the Americans said to them at their late trea-

* See Lockiel. part 3d. page 216.

ties ; as they only reproached them for having joined the British in the war, and added that thereby they had forfeited all their lands, &c."—" This (said they) we never did agree to, and therefore it will cause a fresh struggle, before we so tamely give up !"

Many other circumstances likewise proved, that as yet, no settled peace was established, between the United States and the Indian nations. Reports stated, that several Indians had been killed, since these treaties were held—that the American frontier militia had threatened to kill every Indian who should attempt to settle on the Muskingum, and that they would not suffer the Christian Indians to reoccupy the lands they had formerly lived upon, &c.—Upon the whole, it appeared evident to us, that our detention on the lake, had eventually been the means of saving the congregation, from being murdered by one or the other party ; whereas here on Cayahaga, we were out of immediate danger, and could easily cross the lake again, should necessity compel us thereto.

But, while the Christian Indians were flattering themselves that they would be permitted to remain on this river, until all differences between the American people, and the Indian nations, were brought to a close, and a firm and durable peace established : they learnt, by means of visiting friends and relations from among the savages, that the chiefs of the nations, were in close council, deliberating on the steps, proper to be taken to meet the insults that had been of-

fered to them, at, and since the treaty :—and to check the progress daily making in their country,* in consequence of the high toned language which had been held to them, namely : that "the Indians had no longer any land which they could call their own, they having forfeited their whole country by joining the British against them,"—and indeed it was not long before captain Pipe, sent a belt of wampum to the Christian Indians to inform them ; "that as appearances towards a peace were very doubtful, and a new war would probably break out soon, the believing Indians were not well situated on the Cayahaga ; but in as much danger as ever of being surprised and murdered by the white people ;—he therefore would remove them from where they were, and place them at Petquotting," (on the Huron river) "and order that country to be cleared of the settlers who were now on the land, to make room for them, where they might always remain and live in peace and safety ! He said, he wished the believing (Christian) Indians, to consider him their sincere friend; and therefore accept his invitation !"—our Indians, fearing to return an answer that might give offence, or create suspicion, chose rather to keep the belt in their possession, which would be the same as giving an answer in the affirmative.

* Meaning the surveyors that were out in every direction, surveying their lands for themselves.

Another message, although not sent by proper authority, was soon after this, brought on ; inviting the believing Indians in pressing terms, to come and live at Sandusky : to which however a negative answer was given.

Note. To afford the reader, an opportunity of learning the causes assigned by the Indian nations, of their dissatisfaction, and hostile disposition towards the people of the United States : I will follow up their own way of reasoning, and the subjects they bring into view. The greatest complaint they made against the American people was : that " at treaties, they charged them, with the injuries they had done to the Americans ; while *they*, (the Americans) neither said a word, nor would hear any thing about injuries they had done to Indians ! That, finally, they took their land (or country) from them, alledging to them, crimes which properly had been caused by, or committed by themselves. They alledged that the treaties lately held with the nations, had been highly offensive, they having been too hard dealt with ! We (said they) were addressed by the great men who spoke to us, as if we had been a conquered people, and who *must*, whether willing or not, submit to the dictates of a proud conqueror !"—We were told, " that by having embraced the cause of our father, the British, we had forfeited all our land ;—had no more a country, which we could call our own !—That they had a right to take the whole of our lands at

once, but, out of compassion, they would suffer us to live and hunt on a part of it, for a while longer!" (Then describing the lands they now laid a claim to). The Indians further reported: "that the American people, took their country from them, also on the grounds, that they (the Indians) had been told at the treaty held at Pittsburg, at the commencement of the war, that all those Indians who joined the British, and took up arms against them, would loose their land if they (the Americans) should become the conquerors!"—Here the Indians observe: "that in *their* situation, they could not have done otherwise, as, for all their dependence for necessary articles of clothing, &c. they had to look to the British alone, the Americans having nothing to give, or to exchange for their peltries, and besides, their father the British *compelled* them to side with them, saying, "that if they did not, they would look upon them as enemies, and withhold every thing from them!"—They say further: "that those great men, who foretold, what would be done with those who joined the British against them, at the same time, made a very fine promise to all those who did *not* join in the war, but did set quiet and mind their own business at home; saying: that all such, they would make to be, a *great and happy people!*"—Here (putting the question to one another, and to the Christian Indians particularly) they asked: "did they speak the truth, or did they deceive us?"—They *did* decieve us; for those were the very people they

sought to kill! they did kill upwards of one hundred of our people, who never took up a single weapon against them, but remained quiet at home, planting corn and vegetables, and praying; and not satisfied with what they had done on the Muskingum, and at Pittsburg, to those who befriended them; they even ventured into our country at Sandusky, for the purpose of killing the remainder of those, who had done, as we all were bid to do!—*did sit still!*"—Then going on, in enumerating the daily offences given, and injuries done and doing them, they said: "those very people, have since the peace has been concluded, been all over our country, deadening trees, and laying poles across* each other on the ground, wherever they found a spot of good land; so that, in whatever direction we go to hunt, we meet with the like work done by white people!—"Now (said they,) does this not plainly denote, that they mean to take this *very land* from us? Is it not evident, that they murdered so many of our friends, for the purpose of getting at this land.—Go and examine your former towns on the Muskingum," (said they to the Christian Indians,) "and see what they have been doing there! You will find in many places, trees deadened, and cut poles laid across each other, by them!† And do you really

* Making Tomohock improvements, thereby to hold such spot of land to themselves, as was usual to do before the war.

† This was found to be so, on the return of the Christian Indians to Muskingum in the year 1798.

believe, that the people who have done this, would tolerate you, to sit down there again? No! indeed. Follow up (said they,) the rivers and streams which fall into the Ohio, to their fountain heads, and you will find the like work done!* Besides this, what have they done to our persons, since they told us, that now all was peace, inviting us to come and trade with them again, there being stores open for us, for that purpose, both at Pittsburg and fort Mac Intosh! Did they not fall upon those of our people, who had taken their skins and peltry to the latter place, while they were in the act of trading them away, killing several of them?† Did we not receive but the other day, an account of some Shawanos being murdered on the Sciota!‡—Are they not at this present time scattered through our country, either stealing our horses, or robbing our hunting camps—taking the skins away from the scaffolds,§ while we are absent! And shall we suffer such thieves and murderers to be always our neighbours!—Let them go on in this way,

* The writer of this, found this to be so, wherever he came, on his travelling through that country.

† This was a most barbarous act. One of the Christian Indians was killed at the time.

‡ See Lockiel's History, part 3d. chap. xiii. their number stated to be ten.

§ Indeed the poor sufferers, sometimes applied to the missionaries to assist them in recovering their property, but neither the Indian agents, nor the civil authority could effect this, at that time.

until they have extirpated us entirely, and have the *whole* of our land !—Did not God create us as well as the white people !—Did he not place us on this land, and give us strength and ability to defend ourselves against any invader !—Does he not expect of us, that we shall exert ourselves, in preserving that which he gave to our forefathers, both for themselves and their offspring for ever !—What nation of Indians, will tamely submit, to be driven from their lands by another nation !—is it not a rule with Indian nations, to make prisoners of the inhabitants of another nation, (to take their horses, guns, peltry, nay, every article found upon them,) when such were only caught hunting, in their territory ! sending them home naked, and forbidding them ever to come again, or they must abide the consequence !—and have not such as did return, had their noses and ears cut off; and been told, that if they came a third time, they would loose their heads !—Yes ! all this had been done by the very nation,* adjoining us !—and shall we be driven among these, to be served in the same manner ! No nation has suffered what we have by the white people ! We the Lenni Lenape (Delawares) together with our numerous train of connexions, (grand children,) who at the time, when the first white people came over the great salt

* The Potowatamos, see Heckewelder's History of Indian Nations, chapter xix.

water lake to us, owned, and were in possession of all the country lying on the sea shore far to the south and far to the east. We !—our forefathers received the white people with kindness ! they gave them land to live, and plant upon. We afterwards showed them the same kindness !—We always agreed to part with as much land to the white people, as they stood in need of for planting ; for they must live as well as ourselves !—but they are not satisfied with this ! when we part with a large tract of our country to them ; they do not begin at the one end, and continue settling one adjoining the other, until the whole is settled or occupied ! No ! they scatter like the deer over the whole tract—one here, and another there ; leaving vast bodies of land laying waste, and then say to us, that they must have more land, and if we are not quick in giving it to them, they take it, saying we will have it !—and what are they doing at this present time !—have they not their surveyors out almost in every direction !* and are they not building houses, at the salt spring on the Big Beaver ; and bringing large iron Pots out to make salt on our land, &c!"

Such was their language at that time, and which engaged the particular attention of all the Indian nations residing in the country. The disappointment they met with at the two first treaties, held with them after peace had taken place between the con-

* The seven Ranges, and donation lands, were then surveying.

tending powers. On account of their not being at liberty to meet the American commissioners, with a speech, or address, which they had prepared with so much care, for the occasion: gave them a disgust for the whole.—They were not insensible, that they had erred; and that their American brethren, had also just complaints against them; but they thought, matters should and would have been, properly examined into,—properly weighed, and impartially decided. They had flattered themselves, that when once they should meet their American brethren at a treaty, matters would soon be adjusted, and that all that was past, would be buried in the deep; and they again taken by the hand by their American brethren, &c.

Of the manner in which the nations intended to meet their American brethren, at a treaty, when called upon for the purpose, the Christian Indians had previously been informed of; and the proposed address, met their full approbation; it containing incontrovertible facts—the language not high toned, yet energetic; and calculated to soften, or prepare the heart for a kind reception, closing, with making a present of a large tract of land, to their American brethren—and another very large tract of land, (in both cases boundaries described) they wished to exchange with their American brethren for articles of clothing, "to cover the nakedness of themselves and

families, occasioned by a want of the articles during the long contest," as the intended speech expressed.

In addition to the pain it gave them, in being disappointed with regard to the speech, or address they intended to make; a mistake was made in the interpretation of an article, contained in the address of the commissioners which was highly offensive to them; though at the time, they preferred being silent thereon, as the treaty was held at a fortified place.*— The commissioners, intended to explain to the Indian nations, "that by the treaty, between the British and the United States; territorial lines had been agreed upon between the parties; and that, according to these, the nations present, for the greater part, fell within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States;" here however, it appeared, that either from a wrong conception—or the want of proper words to designate the true meaning of this article, the interpreters had made use of the words "right of soil," instead of *jurisdiction*; by which, the Indians were led to believe, that the American people laid a claim to every foot of the soil belonging to them, and returning home, under this wrong impression, the British—or their subordinate agents, strengthened and supported them in this belief, which induced them to take the resolution, to stand their ground as long as they were able; and if finally they must perish, they still

* See Heckewelder's Historical Account, chapter xxii. page 177.

would have the consolation, that they had not lost their country and lives through cowardice.

They however, did not wish to commence hostilities without first giving warning. Surveyors, were ordered to desist surveying lands in their country, and a Mr. Cibbs, placed by a company, (who laid a claim to the land their works were on) to take care of the buildings, iron pots, tools, &c. not attending to the warning given him, was murdered; the pots, they were able to break, broken to pieces, and every thing destroyed.

The idea, of the Christian Indians settling on the Muskingum, being of course given up until better times; the writer of this narrative, whose wife was not in a condition to undergo the hardships and fatigues which presented themselves to our view, took his family, near the commencement of the winter, to Bethlehem; the missionaries Zeisberger and wife, with Edwards remaining with the Indian congregation.

Thus were those poor Indians, who expected to enjoy peace and rest; already under an apprehension that new troubles might befal them. Otherwise they were cheerful—had built a convenient temporary house of worship—and were, since they had crossed the lake, joined by a number of their dispersed brethren and sisters. Poor Thomas, the lad who was scalped at the butchery of the Christian Indians at Gnadenhutten, unfortunately was drowned; while

fishing in the river. From the blows he received on his head, previous to the scalping of him, he at times became aflicted with violent pains, and a dizziness in his head, so much so, that sometimes he would faint away. He was an excellent swimmer, but a fit of dizziness, taking him unexpectedly, while in a canoe by himself, he fell out and was drowned.

Some Indian corn, potatoes, pumpkins, beans, turnips, &c. were raised here this season, although late put into the ground ; and what was wanting in provisions, could be readily had from Messrs. Duncan and Wilson, who carried on a trade in articles of provisions to Detroit, and had a store of flour, within a few miles of where we were. The Brethren at Bethlehem, had also in August of this year, sent us articles of clothing, &c. for which we were very thankful.

Shortly after the commencement of the year 1787, accounts were received from various quarters, that the Christian Indians would not be permitted to stay where they were at present ; and that they would have to move nearer to the settlements of the savages. The government of the United States, had also at this time, advised the Christian Indians through general Butler, agent of Indian affairs, not to move to the Muskingum for the present, but to remain at Cayahaga. The speech from captain Pipe, already taken notice of, called on them to leave the Cayahaga and settle at Petquotting.

Such was the state of things at that time ; and dis-

couraging as it was, we durst not look upon the speeches sent to us, with indifference; especially what came from captain Pipe. Whilst the Christian Indians had this subject under consideration, the hostile tribes were holding a great council at Sandusky; at which it was finally resolved, that a war with the United States, should commence, and that if the believing Indians would not decline going to the Muskingum, they would force them to do so, and that their teachers, should not be taken prisoners as heretofore, but killed on the spot. A glimpse of hope, however, yet remained, and induced them to believe that a peace might yet take place. The Iroquois, (Six Nations) it was said, had sent a solemn embassy* to all the western nations, but particularly to the Shawanese, advising them to be at peace. A report also circulated, that the commandant at Detroit, had persuaded nine or ten tribes of Indians, to keep the peace, and that he even threatened such, as should commit hostilities against the United States.*

The Christian Indians, after mature deliberation on the speeches which had been sent to them, resolved: to seek for a spot of ground between Cayahaga and Petquotting, where they might live by themselves in peace and quiet, without being interrupted by the savages; and having for the purpose, examined the country along the lake, they found a place, quite to their mind.

* Lockiel's History, part. iii. chap. xiii.

At this time, the following private message from a friendly Delaware chief, was brought and delivered to the missionary Zeisberger: "Grandfather! having heard that you proposed going to live on the Muskingum, I would advise you not to go thither this spring! I cannot* give you my reasons for so advising you! neither can I say whether we shall have war or peace; but so much I can say, that it is not the time yet to go there. Do not think, that I wish to oppose your preaching the word of God! (the gospel) to the Indians! I am glad you do this, but I advise you not to go to the Muskingum!"—This good chiefs' friendly message was well understood. Respecting the missionaries as his friends, he warned them of the danger they would be in, in going there.

On the 19th of April, the Christian Indians closed their stay at this place, by offering up solemn prayer and praise, in their chapel. They thanked the Lord for all blessings, both internal and external, which he had showered down upon them in this place; and then set out in two parties, one by land, and the other by water. The latter was however, delayed a couple of days, on account of a dreadful storm arising, just at the moment they were about to run out of the Cayahaga river, into the lake; the wind blowing violently from the opposite side, on this shore. The waves beat with such force against the natural wall of stone or rocks, that the whole earth seemed to tremble,

† Meaning that he durst not disclose, &c.

and the travellers thanked God, that they at the time were in the river in safety, and where they further had the good fortune, to catch several hundred excellent large fish, by torch light; a fish called in this country the maskenuntschi, or maskenunge, and much resembling the pike.

On the 24th of April, the land travellers, and on the day following, those who were gone by water, arrived at the place they had fixed upon, as their future residence; which was on a large creek, that emptied itself into the lake from the south, and where a fine fertile spot was found, much resembling an orchard, it being interspersed with crab apple, and plumb trees, wild potatoes, (an article of food much valued by the Indians,) were likewise found here in abundance. In short, there was nothing wanting to encourage them to form a regular settlement at this place, the which they intended to do, should they be permitted to remain here; this however, was not the case, for on the 27th, they were apprised, by a Delaware captain, who was sent for the purpose; that they were not permitted to stay, but must proceed on to Sandusky, where a place, ten miles distant from the nearest habitation of Indians, was destined for them to live at! and where protection would be granted them;—that, the orders he brought, were positive, and must be obeyed, without further consideration!—The captain was further charged, with a separate message, to Zeisberger, to this effect: "hear my friend, you my

grandfather! I know that you have formerly been adopted by our chiefs as a member of the nation! No one shall hurt you, and you need not be afraid, or have any scruples, about coming to live at Sandusky!" (delivering a string of wampum)—The answer given to the above speech, was of course in the affirmative; yet, not without representing to the captain, the malice, deceit, and treachery imposed upon them, for these six or seven years past.

While preparing to leave this favourite spot, Michael Young, who as before related had gone to Bethlehem, from Upper Canada, in 1783, now returned again to resume his missionary station, and joining the company, they continued their journey, as before, some travelling by land, while others with the baggage, went by water. Arriving at the Huron river, which emptied itself into lake Erie, about thirty miles to the eastward of Sandusky; they learnt from good authority, that the message sent them by the savage chief, was not the truth, and that the place allotted for them to live at, instead of ten, was but two miles from the village of the savages; and that the real intention of them was, to draw the Christian Indians back into heathenism. The latter finding this to be their object, resolved, not to go any further, for the present; but to remain where they were, in opposition to the orders of the chiefs, let the consequence be what it would.—After running their canoes a few miles up the river, they, on the 11th of May

halted, and all hands turning out, both men and women, they erected for themselves, on the same day, a sufficient number of small bark huts, to lodge in; and on the next day, sent a deputation to the chiefs, giving their reason for what they had done, on which they were permitted to stay where they were, for one year, unmolested.

The village was afterwards built, on the east side of a high bluff, and their corn fields were on the opposite side. To this place, which they named New Salem, the heathen sometimes came to hear the preaching of the gospel, some of whom also joined the congregation, becoming steady members of the church. One noted profligate, who in 1781, had formed a plan against the lives of the missionaries, and often laid in ambush to surprise them—was among those new comers. Even a Huron (Wyandot Indian,) who had an invitation to become a chief of the nation, refused the offer, and joined the congregation. They having here, as at all places where the Brethren have missions, adopted such rules and regulations, as tended both to their internal and external happiness and welfare, they lived contented together, within themselves; yet, not without concern as to the fate of the Indian nations, should they persist in their hostile disposition towards the people of the United States, as the present prospect evinced.

As these Indian nations, had on all occasions signified their dissatisfaction, at the language held to

them, at the treaty at fort Mac Intosh, in 1785.—The government of the United States, appointed another treaty to be held with them in the fall of the year 1788, at fort Harmer, (mouth of Muskingum).—To this treaty, they were long in coming, and such as did attend, were, (except those of the Six Nations, and a few Delawares) barely permitted to go; or, sent on to keep the United States from suspecting them, they being at that time, engaged at home, in deliberating on the manner of carrying on a war against the United States. The Six Nations, who were present, were brought on by the United States, for the purpose of using their endeavours in bringing about a peace with the other nations, they being at peace with the United States. At length a treaty was concluded in January, 1789.

Four months after this treaty was held, the writer of this narrative, accompanied by Abraham Steiner, a member of the society, made a journey to Petquotting on the Huron river, where the Christian Indians resided, for the purpose of learning the disposition of the Indian nations, and whether this would be a proper time for a surveyor to lay off the lands, reserved for the Christian Indians on the Muskingum; the surveyors appointed for the purpose, being in readiness to proceed to the spot. Although all the Indians we met, and had seen by the way, in going out, were very friendly and hospitable towards us, and glad to see and converse with me, yet they assured us, that

they did not believe a surveyor would be safe, when seen doing such work in the country, for although they had not been at the treaty themselves, they knew the nations were not disposed to keep the peace, especially the Shawanese, who had declared, that they never would give up their lands so foolishly, &c.—The Delawares, for the greater part, wished for a peace very much, that they might follow up their favourite occupation, (hunting) although their complaints against the United States was the same as heretofore; namely, that at treaties they charged the Indians with what they had suffered by them, and took their land from them on that account: while they would not suffer the Indians to state their grievances—or "stopped up their ears, so that they might not hear what they said, &c." The Christian Indians, though very anxious for a peace, thought this very distant, they having learnt that the hostile party were strengthening themselves, more and more from day to day.

It was of course to be foreseen, that on the terms insisted on, by the United States, they never would conclude a peace, that would be durable. In their councils, they were unanimous on what they called the main point, namely: "that at treaties, the grievances from both sides ought to be heard, and brought in contact, and when this was done, it would be found, that the guilt of the American people would by far overbalance theirs.—They were made to suffer, said they, for siding with their father, (the British) in the

war, although they were *compelled* thereto, while they, (the American people,) were continually harrassing them, both in peace and war, by murdering their people, stealing from them—encroaching on their lands, and taking their game from them! They do us all the harm they can (said they) and escaped unpunished; for, we never yet heard of a white man being punished for killing Indians; we therefore must conclude, that neither murder nor theft, committed on an Indian, is considered with them as a crime!"

Under the impression, that the American people sought their destruction, for the purpose of getting all their land, the western, and a part of the northern Indians, entered into a formal league, to unite all their strength and forces, in compelling the people of the United States, to keep within certain bounds; expecting that their father, the British, at whose call they had taken up arms against the United States in the last war, would now at their call, turn out, and assist them, until they should have fully obtained their object.

At their sittings in council, during the winter of 1789—90, they came to the following resolutions: *First*, "to declare their case a public grievance, in which *all* were concerned—that therefore every able bodied man, ought and should turn out, to assist in repelling the enemy, who had come into their country, to take their land from them. *Secondly*, That the Christian Indians, and their teachers, should be

removed from Petquotting to *Kegeyunk*,* with a promise of being permitted to enjoy at that place, all the privileges they could wish for; but having them once there, they would compel them to fight by their sides, and that death should be the punishment of all, who refused to fight in this just cause of theirs. That, if their teachers in any wise threw obstacles in the way, by preventing the believing Indians, from joining them in fighting for their country; they should instantly be put to death,† and that this part of the speech be kept a profound secret. *Thirdly.* That they no longer would listen to any one, who might be sent‡ to them from the American people, unless they first saw them moving back again, off of their land.

Fortunately, the Christian Indians had real friends among the hostile Indians, who, on learning the trick to be played on them, gave them private notice thereof, that they might be on their guard; when the message should be brought to them. The missionaries, seeing the inevitable ruin of their congre-

* Fort Wayne was aftewards built there.

† That this really had been concluded on, was confirmed by a Tuscarora Indian chief, who voluntarily, in the year 1793, called on the writer of this narrative at Niagara, to inform him of the intrigue, he having been present when the resolution had been taken.

‡ Therefore, they afterwards murdered the three messengers, Freeman, Truman and Hardin. See Heckewelder's History of Indian nations, chap. xxi. page 173.

gation, if they did not very soon retire, to some place, where they would be out of the reach of the savages, (without loss of time,) dispatched the missionary Edwards, with a couple of Indian brethren to Detroit, to represent their situation to the British commandant, requesting, that he would grant them an assylum during the time the war should last; which being readily agreed to, a vessel was engaged to be at their village, on the Huron river, at a stated time, to take them off.

The savages, who by this time, had come on with the message, for the Christian Indians to get in readiness, and remove to Kegeyunk, were led to believe that they would go with them, when unexpectedly a vessel appeared in the river, and took them off; landing them, after crossing the lake, above the mouth of Detroit river, where cleared lands were allotted them, to plant corn on for the season; they being here under the protection of the British Government.

The missionary Senseman, who in 1785, as already noticed, had taken his family from the Huron river in Canada, to Bethlehem; being about this time, (April 1790) on his return to the congregation at Petquotting, ran a great risk of falling into the enemy's hands, although at the time it was not known to him. He fortunately arrived with his wife at Petquotting, to jointhe congregation in their flight across the lake. In

the service of this mission there were now four Brethren and two sisters employed.

The place however, appointed for the temporary abode of the Indian congregation, was not found to answer all the ends wished for; the savages passing and repassing by water, would frequently halt at their settlement, and having liquor with them, would get drunk, and become troublesome; whilst some of their white neighbours--more wicked and mischievous than any Indians, would do all manner of injury to one another, purposely to have the blame thrown upon the Indians. The missionaries, becoming tired of having such a set of people for their neighbours, stated the case to the commandant at Detroit, who, readily advised them to remove in the spring, to the river La Tranche, (now called the Thames) which they gladly accepted, and moving to the place allotted them, they built a town, which they called Fairfield.

The depredations which were committed by the savages, for several years past, had at length induced the United States, to march an army into their country, with the view of chastising them, and bringing them to a peace. Unfortunately however, both this expedition under general Harmer in 1790, and that the year following, under general St. Clair, failed.—Generals Scott and Wilkinson, had carried their expeditions to the waters of the Wabash, with better success, and brought about sixty women and children prisoners, to fort Washington; which, of

course, would be a check on those nations, to whom they belonged, against going to war: but the principal body of the warriors, held their rendezvous at, or near the Miamies. There all nations or tribes, in league, would resort; and there it was, that a number of British emisaries, agents and subalterns, of whom M'Kee, Elliot and Girty were a part, who being influential among them, gave advice and instructions, how they were to act, (so that the spirit of animosity was kept alive with them,) in order to prevent a meeting of the parties, for the purpose of adjusting matters, and concluding a peace.

After the two aforesaid expeditions had failed, little hopes could be entertained, that the combined nations, would be brought to a peace, until after being humbled; yet the executive of the United States, were not willing to resort to the severest measures, until they had first tried all possible lenient means, believing, that if the nations were at liberty to reflect and act for themselves, there could be no doubt in obtaining this end, and the more so, as they on their part, were agreed, if possible, to terminate the war upon principles of justice and humanity.*

Accordingly, both in the spring of the year 1792,

* This was the expression made use of by the secretary of war (general Knox) in his letter at the time sent by express to the writer of this narrative; on requesting him, to accompany, and assist Brigadier general Rufus Putnam, the commissioner appointed to treat with the western Indians, on that mission.

and the summer of 1793, attempts were made to bring the parties together at a conference, at such places, as would be most suitable for the purpose. The first embassy, under general Rufus Putnam, who was appointed a commissioner for the purpose, though not succeeding as to the main object, yet was the means of weakening, in a great measure, the powerful alliance; as some tribes were detached from the great body, by means of the prisoners taken from them, by Scott and Wilkinson, being now given up to them again, under a promise, that they would remain quiet, and take no further part in the war. The treaty held with the tribes alluded to, was at port Vincennes on the Wabash river, to which place, the women and children, belonging to some of these tribes, were brought for the purpose of delivering them up again. After the treaty was ended, the chiefs of the nations were taken to the president of the United States, then at Philadelphia.

The commissioners, appointed to the peace embassy of 1793, were general Benjamin Lincoln, colonel Timothy Pickering, and Beverly Randolph, esq. The object was, to meet the Indian nations, at the rapids of the Miami of the lake, where it was understood the great body of the warriors were assembled;—and it was hoped,—that once met, face to to face at a conference, matters might be adjusted, to their satisfaction. But it was evident, that the British, (by their agents on that ground,) prevented this

meeting, which unquestionably was much to the injury of the poor deluded Indians. The commissioners indeed, spared no pains in their attempt to bring them to a meeting, even, where they were encamped, and the representation of the danger, they would expose themselves to, by meeting an enraged enemy, and the certainty of their loosing their lives, if they came amongst them, (as some predicted would infallibly be the case) had no effect upon them. However all their endeavours to attain the so much wished for meeting, proved ineffectual. At length, by an insolent speech, that was brought to the commissioners, as the sentiments of the council of the savages; all hope of meeting them vanished, and the commissioners returned them a short answer, to this purport: "That they reminded them of the pains the United States had taken, to bring about a peace with them, but as they were inattentive to their own welfare, and disappointed the United States, they must abide the consequences; and only blame themselves and their advisers for future events."

The writer of this, having been (by a letter from general Knox, dated 19th March 1798) informed, that the president requested him to accompany the commissioners, who were to negociate with the hostile Indians, and being also on the spot, witnessed the insolent manner in which this last speech was both worded and delivered. Even Simon Girty, who together with Elliot were present at its delivery, sup-

ported his insolence, by a quill or long feather run through the under part of his nose crossways. It appeared also, that Girty, (the interpreter of the message,) had taken the liberty of adding the last sentence. Two Delawares of note, who in the course of our stay at the mouth of Detroit river, arrived with a deputation, being questioned by me; the reason why the commissioners were not permitted to meet them on the Miami, at their quarters? replied: "all we can say is that we wish for peace; but we cannot speak further, our mouths being stopped up when we left the council!"—which was saying, that they had been forbidden to disclose any of their secrets.

There were also six respectable members of the society of friends*, on this embassy, who voluntarily, and at their own expense, accompanied the commissioners, on this peace errand;—and whose sole object was, that of being instrumental in putting a stop to the effusion of so much human blood. The disappointment therefore was, to us all, a distressing one, and the poor savages some time after had to pay dear, for having suffered themselves, to be thus mislead.

While these friends, myself and several more of our company were at Detroit, awaiting the arrival of the commissioners from Queenstown, I paid a visit of

* Their names were, John Parrish, William Savory, and John Elliot, of the city of Philadelphia. Jacob Lindlay, of Chester county, and Joseph Moore and William Hartshorn, of New Jersey.

several days, to the Indian congregation at Fairfield, on the Thames river, about seventy miles to the east or north eastward of Detroit. The settlement was only begun the preceding year; yet much labour was already completed, and the inhabitants lived very happy, enjoying peace, as though here was no war. Some good houses and a chapel, were already built, and their corn and wheat fields, promised according to appearance, good crops. In provision however they were deficient; not having the last year been able to raise much, as the land was covered with wood and brush which they were obliged to cut off. The Friends, learning their situation, generously made them a present of one hundred dollars, to purchase provisions and other necessary articles; for which, (by letter,) they returned their benefactors, their best thanks.

The savages, continuing their murderous incursions into the settlements of the United States; general Wayne, in August 1794, marched an army into their country, and on the 20th of that month, in a general engagement at the rapids of the Miami, completely routed them, which victory was the salutary means of bringing on a peace with them, and which was concluded, with all the hostile nations, on the 3d of August the following year.

The Indians, now seeing and acknowledging their error said: "Since we would not listen to the messengers of peace, sent to us by the great general

Washington, but treated them contemptuously; he has sent out a *Sukach-gook*"* (a black snake) among us, to punish us; and this he has done!"

In the year 1797, the land that was granted to the Christian Indians by the congress of the United States, was by the surveyor general, Rufus Putnam, esq. surveyed, and laid off in three separate tracts, of four thousand acres each, including their former towns of Gnadenhutten, Salem and Shonbrun; all on the Muskingum river. The directors of the society, being desirous, that this might be made known to the Christian Indians at Fairfield, in Upper Canada, that they, or some of them, might come on, and commence a settlement on their land; the writer of this narrative, accompanied by the rev. Benjamin Mortimer, who was appointed a missionary to the Indians, travelled together in the spring of 1798, by way of the Genessee country, Black rock, Niagara, the Grand river, and the Pinery, in Upper Canada, to that place; where we found the Indian congregation in a flourishing state, and glad to learn, that congress was so well disposed towards them, and had granted them these lands: on which, a number of them were willing to settle, in the fall of the year.

* "Sukach-gook" is the Delaware name for black snake, which they called general Wayne by, saying: that he possessed all the art and cunning of that reptile; which was known to be the greatest destroyer of small birds and animals, of the snake tribe.

Having made a weeks stay at this place, I set out with the aged missionary Edwards, and two young Indian brethren for the Muskingum, to begin a settlement at Gnadenhutten, and make the necessary preparation, for the reception of those missionaries, and Christian Indians, who were expected to come on in the fall. The rout we took to the place of our destination, was by Detroit, Brôwnstown, the river Raison, the Rapids of the Miami of the lake, Upper Sandusky, Owl creek, and Forks of the Muskingum.

Meeting with some Delaware Indians of my acquaintance, at the rapids of Miami, one of them mentioned, the narrow escape he made, in the engagement with the "black snake," at this place, and pointing to the spot where he dropped down in the high grass, while the horsemen were in pursuit of him and others, said: "there it was, where the horsemen galloped almost over me, in pursuit of those ahead, but the great spirit prevented them from seeing me, and their horses from treading on me!"

In our passage through the Upper Sandusky, Wyandot, and Delaware villages, the Indians were very friendly to us; declaring, that they were very glad of the peace, and hoping that it would be of long duration; but before we had left the last village, and while they were in the act of extending their hospitality to us, the alarm yell sounded *bad news*, at a distance; which, when the runner came in, was reported to be: that some white people had surprised an Indian hunt-

ing camp on Sciota, and killed a woman and her child, robbing afterwards the camp. This news, as might be expected, checked their joy, and cast a gloom on all countenances, and on our arrival at Killbuck's creek, about five miles from the Forks of Muskingum, where some Delawares had planted a field of corn, we found that this bad news was already known, with the addition that, Thomas White Eyes,who was educated, at Princeton college, in New Jersey, at the expense of the government of the United States, during the revolutionary war,) was also murdered by a white man near Georgetown, on the Ohio. Another horrid murder, though a year or two later, was committed in the New Connecticut reserve, by some white people, on well known quiet and friendly Indians, who considered themselves perfectly safe amongst their American Brethren.

In October, the misionaries, Zeisberger and Mortimer, together with a number of the Christian Indians, from Fairfield in Upper Canada, arrived on the Muskingum, and having laid off a village on the Shonbrun tract, about seven miles from Gnadenhutten, they called it Goshen.

The Delawares residing on White river, (an arm of the Wabash) having at several times, sent invitations to the Christian Indians, to come with their teachers, and make a settlemnt near them, that they also might have an opportunity of hearing the gospel preached; the Brethren Natuge and Luckenbach, from

Bethlehem, together with three respectable families of Christian Indians, among whom was Joshua, a national chapel interpreter, all from Goshen, were, in the spring of 1801, sent there for the purpose. They travelled together, the greater part of the way by water, first running down the Muskingum into the Ohio, then down that river to the mouth of the Big Miami, then up that river a considerable distance to a point, from whence they struck across the country, to the White rvier; where, within a few miles of the Indian settlements, they built themselves houses and huts, and under flattering expectations, that many would be brought over from heathenism, to the knowledge of Christ, by the preaching of the gospel, they cheerfully entered on their missionary labours.

With this mission, the Brethren did not succeed; for, instead of gaining for the Lord, they lost. It became more and more evident, that it was not the desire of hearing the gospel, as they pretended in their message, when giving the invitation, but a scheme to draw off all the Christian Indians, from the neighbourhood of the white people, and have them united with themselves. The preaching however was continued, for several years, when, unfortunately, both for them, and the savages, an impostor arose, from among the Shawanos, who, pretending to be endowed with the gift of prophecy, causing such commotions among the Indians in that quarter, that it became unsafe for the

Brethren, to remain there much longer, as the sequel will show.

This prophet,* (called Tecumseh) during the course of his administration, had by art and cunning, raised himself into such importance, that he became the oracle of the day. His first discourses, like those of his predecessors, (who had also taken to preaching and prophecying,) were intended to instigate the nations against the white people, by causing them to reflect on the past and happy time, they (or their forefathers) lived in, previous to the coming of white people into their country—pointing out the wretched state they were brought to, by suffering themselves to be misled and deceived, by those who sought nothing short of their utter destruction, in order to get their whole country to themselves.—Hence, his advice was: "that they must entirely withdraw their affection from those strangers; leave them to *their* way of worship, while they, (the Indians) must return to their ancient ways and customs, and worship the great spirit, in the manner their forefathers had done."—He next observed: that "while the white people on the one hand were seeking their destruction; they were destroying each other, by witchcraft! and it was high time for a stop to be put to the evil.—For having been left so long unpunished, they had both become numerous, and grown bold!—But, he however, being endowed with

* See Heckewelder's Account of the Indians, chap. xxxix. page 292.

supernatural powers, that enabled him to discern every witch among them, would point them out, when it would become their duty to sacrifice on the pile, and burn to ashes, every one he should pronounce to be such, without regard to persons!"

The novel doctrine held forth by this prophet, drew many to the spot to hear him, and be witnesses to the actions of so extraordinary a character; little thinking at the time, that when they were in his presence, they or some among them, would be on the verge of being pronounced witches, and condemned for execution. Here was a wide field for this man, to exercise his authority, and gratify his ambition; for he who dared to question his authority, or the legality of his proceedings, was sure to fall a victim.*—The credulous disposition, with regard to novelties, which is peculiar to the Indians, and especially with respect to witchcraft; deprived many for the moment, of reflection. They hastened to the spot, for the purpose of hearing, and seeing, who those were, that had been so fatal to the nation, when, alas! some of them were finally pronounced to be witches, and executed as such.

Amongst the many who were sacrificed as witches, by the orders of this pretended prophet, notice shall be taken of a few. The Delaware chief *Tatapachkse*,†

* See Heckewelder's Account of Indian nations, chap. xxxix p. 294.

† *Tatapachkse*, (properly) not "Teta-boksk-ke," as his name is signed to Wayne's treaty—this chief of the Turtle tribe, was for many

generally called the "*Grand Glaize king*; being condemned to be burnt on the pile, was brought from the village, where the great assembly was, to the little village of the Christian Indians, and executed near to the same; that the inhabitants might be witnesses of the act. After a large pile of wood was cut and heaped up, they placed him bound upon it; giving him a stroke or two with the tomohawk, and having kindled the fire under him; they made themselves merry, in having relieved the nation of a witch. Then returning, they all entered the missionary's house, demanding something to eat, saying, they were hungry! Dreadful as the sight of these barbarians was to the missionaries, they were obliged to comply; when they ate with as much composure, as if nothing had happened. The missionaries, having in some measure recovered from their first fright, now enquired of them "whether they knew any thing of their brother Joshua, who had been sent for by their people, to answer some questions they had to put to him, after which he should be at liberty to return home again; but, as he had not yet returned, they felt anxious for

years well known to the writer of this narrative, as a quiet, inoffensive, and harmless man; he then being a councellor of the nation, at Goschoschking. A vacancy being occasioned afterwards, by the death of the young chief, of that tribe, whom Williamson's party murdered near Pittsburg, and most of the tribe having fled to the westward; he was nominated their chief, and while in that station, condemned as a witch, and put to death. He was about sixty years of age.

him, and therefore wished that they would, on their arrival at the village, procure his liberation, he being much wanted at home. They added, he being a believing (Christian) Indian, had nothing to do with witchcraft, and, whatever might be said of him, by designing men to the contrary, could not be true, &c!" to which they replied: that "no harm was intended to him, and he would soon be at home again:" on that they felt somewhat easy; yet, as he did not return, at the expected time, brother Luckenbach, took the resolution, to go to the place, where the great body of savages were assembled, (which were some miles distant,) and try to bring him off; but, meeting with a person on the way, who came direct from there, he was informed, that he was too late, for that Joshua had been burnt to death on the pile, the day before.

The grief the missionaries felt, on account of what had befallen their brother; was indiscribable. They "sank down on their knees, deeply afflicted, praying to the Lord, to avert all danger from them and their people, and take them under his gracious protection!—and that he also in his mercy, would cause the works of darkness, which at this present time, were so destructively carried on among the heathen, to cease, that the lives of those ignorant heathen might be preserved, for the good purpose of turning them from their heathenish ways unto him!"*

* Letter from the missionary Kluge, to the missionaries at Goshen.

It appeared, from the conduct of the savages, in taking this chief through the Brethren's settlement, and burning him so near their village, that this plan had been devised, for the purpose of drawing the attention of the missionaries and their Indians, to the act they were committing here—while, forgetting Joshua for the moment, he at the same time, would be executed, at the place they had come from, so that they would be too late, if they afterwards came to look for him.

Joshua, before, and after being placed on the burning pile, prayed most fervently to God his Saviour, and continued either praying or singing praises to the Lord, until his strength was exhausted, and death closed his career. One Indian from that quarter—an acquaintance and friend of mine, who witnessed the scene, assured me and others; that "our brother Joshua, remained faithful to his God as long as life was in him. His prayers however were in a language none of them could understand!"—(probably in German, in which language he was well versed).

Note. This Indian, (Joshua) of the Mohegan tribe, was born in the year 1741 at Wachquetnach, an Indian village bordering on the Connecticut river, in New England, where the brethren at that time had a mission; but the white people, some time after, becoming troublesome on account of the land they occupied, which they wanted, and finally took from them. The Indian converts, fifty four in number

besides their children, emigrated on invitation of the Brethren, to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania; and afterwards settled on a tract of land, purchased for them, about twenty-seven miles distant from that place. Here they built a town which was called Gnadenhutten, (cabbins of Grace).—The father of the Indian Joshua, (who bore the same name,) was one of the two first Indians, who were baptised at Bethlehem in the 1742. Count Zinzendorf himself, together with the Missionary Buttner, officiating on the occasion. This Joshua, (the father) was from the time of his baptism, unto his death in 1773, a faithful and useful member of the church; being both a national assistant, or warden, and also interpreter* of the sermons preached to the Indians—Joshua, the the son, above alluded to, was brought up in the fear of the Lord, and had from his childhood, been within the pale of the society. He had a genius for learning, both languages, and the mechanical arts; was a good cooper and carpenter; could stock a gun nicely and no one excelled him in building a handsome canoe. He also, with a little assistance from the missionary of the place where he dwelt, (Wyalusing) made a spinnet for the use of the congregation, and was the chapel musician, while they resided there, having learnt to play on this instrument, and the organ, at the time when the Christian Indians were stationed

* See Lockiel's History, part 3d. page 108 and 9 (English translation).

at Bethlehem in the year 1756,—57, and 58, during the continuance of the war between the English and French. He spoke both the English and German well, and could write letters in either of these languages, especially in the latter. He was also fond of reading, in the bible, hymn book, and other religious books. The murder of his two beloved and only daughters, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years, by Williamson's party, at Gnadenhutten, on the Muskingum, in 1782, was a hard stroke for him to bear. Often, very often has he been seen shedding tears, on this account, though he was never heard to utter a revengeful sentiment against the murderers : he however could not conceal his astonishment, that a people, who called themselves Christians, and read the scriptures, which he supposed all white people did, could commit such acts of barbarity, and was firmly persuaded, that if all the Indians had the bible, and could read it, they would be a better people. In later years, he served as a chapel interpreter, to the Christian Indian flock on the White river, until the artful Shawanese prophet, Tecumseh, who was an enemy to the preaching of the gospel to the Indians, declared him an associate in witchcraft ; which brought him to the pile, on which he ended his life as a Christian, his age being 65 years.

Another victim was, Ann Charity, an aged woman, who from a child lived in the congregation, until the dispersion of the Christian Indians, in the spring of

1782, when she was taken by her heathen relations, to the White river, to be out of the way of the murdering gang of the white people, who had destroyed so many of their relations already. She had not yet joined herself to the Christian Indians on White river, when the prophet pointed her out as a witch, on which she was also put to death, and burnt on the pile. This woman, having been, while a child, placed in the family of the missionary Youngman, and brought up to all manner of labour in the house, belonging to women, she was particularly noticed, as an active industrious woman, and admired for her cleanliness, both in dress, and in household affairs.

The prophet, who had given notice to the neighbouring nations, that he would pay each of them a visit, for the purpose of pointing out the witches they had amongst them; had already began to issue orders, for the execution of some individuals at a distance ;* he generally directed his shaft at those, who were reported as placing no faith in his doctrine, or considered him as a destroyer of Indians; and also at those, whom he knew to be friends of the white people. However he did not succeed in all his schemes and undertakings; for one day, when in the height of the exercise of his assumed power, he met with a spirited inferior chief, who defied him, boldly stepping up to him in a language, or expression he could

* See Heckewelder's Account of Indian nations, chapter xxxix.

not misunderstand, asked him, if he dared to accuse him of witchcraft; he immediately became sensible that limits were set to his power and proceedings. On receiving this rebuke, he with great artifice resumed the subject he began with, when he first entered on preaching, namely; by drawing a comparison between the state of the Indians, previous to the white people coming amongst them, and since these had mingled with them, exhorting the Indians, to abide by their mode of worshipping the great spirit, and not adopt that of the white people.

The missionaries, having no prospect of success, by continuing to preach the gospel to a people, who either did not want to hear, or despised it; broke up the settlement in 1806, and returned to Bethlehem.

In the autumn of the year 1803, the bishop George Henry Loskiel, late from Europe, and last from Bethlehem—author of the book entitled; "History of the mission of the united brethren among the Indians in North America," paid a visit to the Indian congregation at Goshen on the Muskingum, to which place the missionary Schnall, from Fairfield in Upper Canada, on previous notice being given him for the purpose, came also. In a conference on the state of the mission, it was resolved: that another mission settlement should be commenced in the spring following, at Petquotting, on the Huron river, (south side of Lake Erie,) with a part of the Fairfield congregation; which missionary settlement, begun in 1804,

was again broke up in 1809, on account of the lands on which they lived, being sold to white people, who wanted to live there themselves. Two other directors of the society, Charles van Forrestier, from Europe, and John G. Cunow, from Bethlehem, visited in the year 1807 the Brethren's missionary settlements both in the state of Ohio, and in Upper Canada."

In November 1808, the venerable missionary David Zeisberger, aged eighty seven years and seven months, departed this life at Goshen, on the Muskingum, after which his faithful colleague, the reverend Benjamin Mortimer, took charge of the congregation.

As with the death of the reverend David Zeisberger, who entered into the service of this mission shortly after its first commencement ; a period is closed, highly interesting as to external incidents, and occurrences, relating to the mission, and some of a most extraordinary nature, which have been detailed in this narrative ; it may be proper summarily to state, that from the commencement of this mission among the Mohicans, in New York and Connecticut states—in 1740, and the Delawares in Pennsylvania, a year later, unto the year 1808, inclusive, (a period of near seventy years,) between thirteen and fourteen hundred* souls, were baptized by the Brethren ; of whom

* The exact number of baptisms, cannot well be ascertained, on account of the loss of the church register book, taken by the warriors in 1781, but the number as to hundreds, is here not overrated, and supposed to be nearest to fourteen hundred.

a cosiderable number departed this life, in the Christian faith, rejoicing in the hope of soon being in the presence of their Redeemer ; while others who were living in the same faith, had been prematurely cut off from the land of the living, by an inhuman lawless band, (as hath been detailed in this narrative)—others again, had on account of troubles, persecutions, and wars, been compelled to resort to places of safety, beyond the reach of their adversaries. The number of Christian Indians, under the special care of missionaries at these stations, exceeded two hundred souls, at the time their much beloved senior missionary Zeisberger, departed this life.

Exclusive of the ten brethren and sisters and one child, who in November of the year 1755, were murdered,* at their station on Mahony, near the Christian Indian village, Gnadenhutten; six missionaries have departed this life at their posts, namely: Gottlieb Buttner, in 1745 at Shecomeko, an Indian village, then in the province of New York and bordering on the Connecticut river. David Bruce, in 1749, at Pachgatgoch, in Connecticut. John Hagen, about the year 1750, at Shamokin, in Pennsylvania. Gottlob Senseman, in 1800, at Fairfield, in Upper Canada. William Edwards, aged about seventy, in 1801, at Goshen, on the Muskingum, and David Zeisberger, at the same place, in 1808 ; while at Bethlehem in the

* See Loskiel's History of the mission, part 2d, chapter xii. page 166.

same year, the two venerable missionaries, Grube and Youngman, were also called from hence to meet together in the presence of that Lord and Saviour, whom they so faithfully served here below ; to receive their reward of him.

It is remarkable that these last three venerable missionaries, who at an early period of their lives, had entered into that service with the resolution to endure for Christ's sake, all hardships, privations, persecutions and dangers which might befal them—and who indeed had, during long services, given proof of their firmness, by the numerous hardships, and trials they had endured, should live to such advanced ages, as they did, and therewith enjoy generally good health to the last.—Bernhard Adam Grube, who had been the first missionary to the Delawares, and spoke their language well, died at Bethlehem on the 20th of March 1808, aged ninety three years and three months. John George Youngman, first a missionary to the Mohicans in Connecticut, and afterwards for a number of years, the same to the Delawares on the Susquehannah, in Pennsylvania, and in the western country, died also at Bethlehem in July of the same year, (1808,) aged eigty-eight years and three months ; and David Zeisberger, (as aforesaid,) died in November of the same year, at Goshen on the Muskingum, aged eighty seven years and seven months.

As the names of all the Brethren, who had hitherto been in the service of this mission, are inserted in

their proper places in "Loskiel's History of the United Brethren among the North American Indians:" I will only subjoin the names of such, as were actually employed in the service at the close of this period of the mission, 1808. These are, Benjamin Mortimer, John Schnall, Abraham Luchkenbach, and Christian Frederick Dencke, with their wives, and Michael Young, Benjamin Haven and John Joachim Hagen, single brethren.

The mission of the Brethren among the Cherokees,* began in the spring of the year 1801, by brother Abraham Steiner of Salem, in North Carolina, and was continued for a few years, by him, with the assistance of Gottlieb Byhan, of the same place; it was afterwards supplied by brother John Gambolds, who took charge of it, together with his faithful wife. They are indefatigable in their labours, of making known the gospel truths both to the natives, and others, who are inclined to hear it; and of giving school instruction to their children. It is pleasing to add, that they have found sufficient reason to be thankful to the Lord, for the blessing he has laid on their ministry. Otherwise this southern mission is, as to its ex-

* Privious to brother Steiner's beginning a mission in the Cherokee country, he, with brother Frederick Christian Von Schweintz, made two journeys into that country, for the purpose of obtaining permission, from the chiefs of the nation, to settle among them; who, together with the officers of government stationed in that country favoured the design to his wishes.

ternal concerns, unconnected with the mission treated of in this narrative; and is supplied by the directors of the society in Salem, North Carolina.

As a brief relation of the life and character of the late David Zeisberger, may be interesting to the reader; I will conclude this narrative, with a few extracts, from the writings of such persons, who served with him in the same cause for a number of years. The following article,* copied from the American register, of vol. V. part I. for 1809, was written by the rev. Benjamin Mortimer, for the Pittsburg gazette, as an obituary notice. Mr. Mortimer, had for the last nine years, been constantly near the person of the deceased, and preached his funeral sermon.

(*The extract.*) "Died on the 17th of November, 1808, at Goshen, on the river Muskingum, state of Ohio, the rev. David Zeisberger, senior missionary of the United Brethren among the Indians, aged eighty-seven years and seven months."

"He was a native of Moravia, in Germany, from whence he emigrated with his parents at an early age to Herrnhuth, in Upper Lusatia, for the sake of obtaining religious liberty. In 1738, he came to this country, landed in Georgia, where at that time, some

*The errata in this article, are necessarily here corrected by the copyist.

of the United Brethren, had begun a settlement, merely for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the Creek nation. From thence he removed to Pennsylvania, and assisted at the commencement of the settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth. Ever since the year 1746, a period of sixty-two years, he has, with few, and short intervals, been a missionary among the Indians, making himself master of sundry of their languages."

He was blessed with a cool, active, intrepid spirit, not appalled by any danger, or difficulties, and a sound judgment, to discern the best means of meeting and overcoming them. Having once devoted himself to the service of God among the Indians, he steadily, from the most voluntary choice, and with the purest motives, pursued his object, namely, the glory of his Redeemer, in the salvation of his fellow men, whom he found sunk in heathenish darkness, and error. Never was he so happy, as when he could believe, that the souls to whom he preached, had sought and found forgiveness of their sins, and could truly rejoice in their Saviour; he then rejoiced with them, as if he had gained the utmost object of his wishes, for with the apostle Paul, he counted all things but lost, in comparison of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, and the being found in him, (Phil. iii. 8, 9) and it may truly be added, that the gaining over one soul, to this excellent knowledge and experience, was with him, of more estimation,

than if he had acquired possession of the whole world. His endeavours, for the conversion of the Indians, were crowned with very signal success, as may be seen at large in Loskiel's history of the mission of the United Brethren, among the North American Indians.

"In the course of a long life, thus spent among savages, he was, of course exposed to innumerable hardships and privations. In addition to these, he had at times to suffer much persecution, from the enemies of the truth, and was frequently in imminent danger of his life. Nothing, however, of this kind dismayed him for a moment, but only served to whet his zeal; and he has, more than once had the pleasure to baptize those of his converts, who had not long before lifted up some weapon of death to destroy him. In reliance upon his God, in whom alone he trusted, and not in men, he had always good courage, in the carrying on of his work. At the same time, he was of an humble, meek spirit, and always thought lowly of himself. Self was the least of all the considerations, that occupied his mind--universal love filled his bosom. He was a most affectionate husband; a faithful and never failing friend; and every lineament of his character, shewed a sincere, upright, benevolent, and generous soul, with perhaps as few blemishes, as can be expected in the best of men, on this side the grave. This is no studied eulogium, to give an exalted opinion of a much esteemed departed friend; it is a free description of that genuine worth, which every

one well acquainted with Mr. Zeisberger, must have perceived, and found in him, and which must therefore long endear his memory among them.

"It deserves to be particularly noticed, that Mr. Zeisberger, was probably one of the oldest white settlers in the state of Ohio; and that perhaps, no man had ever preached the gospel among the Indians for such a long succession of years, and amidst so great a variety of trials. In accommodating himself in this state of things among them, it would be difficult to recount his journeys, or, how often he had to change his place of residence. In the last forty years of his life, he never was, at any one time, six months absent from his Indian flock, and during that long period, he only paid *two* visits to his friends and acquaintances in the Atlantic States. His last journey to Bethlehem, was in the year 1781, from which time, to his death, (full twenty-seven years) he has continually been, and dwelt with his Indian congregation, in the western country, (and Upper Canada,) wherever their respective settlements were.

"In the evening of his days, as his faculties began to fail him, his desire to depart and be with Christ, increased more and more. At the same time he awaited the dissolution of his mortal frame, with an uniform, calm, dignified resignation to the will of his maker, and with the sure and certain hope, of leaving this world for a better. His last words were, "Lord Jesus, I pray thee come, and take my spirit to thyself!"

And again, "thou hast never yet forsaken me, in any trial: thou wilt not forsake me now."—"A very respectable company attended his funeral. The solemn service was performed in the English, Delaware, and German languages, to suit the different auditors. The sermons were from Rev. xii. 11. and Prov. x. 7. A summary written account of the principal occurrences in his remarkable life, was communicated, and heard with particular interest and attention.

"Some interesting anecdotes might, if necessary, be related of this worthy man, which alone, would establish his character, as an exemplary Christian, and faithful follower of Jesus. Having enlisted under the banner of his divine master and redeemer—to serve him, and his cause alone, he cared nothing for the things of this world, being of opinion, that a servant of Christ ought never to be shackled with earthly concerns, nor attached to those things which are perishable."

Zeisberger would never consent to have his name put down on a salary list; or "become a hireling," (as he termed it) saying, that although to some missionaries a salary might be both agreeable and proper, yet with him it would not be so, as he had, from the beginning, devoted himself to the service of the Lord, among the heathen, without any other view of a reward, than such as his Lord and master, should deign to bestow on him; well convinced, that if he proved faithful, and deserving of remuneration, he would receive it,

especially, when he had finished his earthly career, and joined him, whom he had served here below!"

Though he coveted not the things of this world, but was content with food and raiment alone; he was not inclined to censure those who sought to acquire wealth. He only hoped, that the wealthy would make such use of what they acquired, that it might prove a blessing to them. How often have I observed the smile on his countenance, and seen his eyes glisten, when he, either witnessed, or learnt from others, that a needy, or distressed person had been relieved.

Zeisberger was a man of small stature, yet well proportioned, with a cheerful countenance, and endowed with a good understanding, and sound judgment; a friend and benefactor to mankind, and justly beloved by all who knew him, with perhaps the exception of those, who were enemies to the gospel which he preached. His words were few, and never known to be wasted at random or in an unprofitable manner.

Though he had so often been exposed to extreme hardships and dangers of various kinds, yet he was never known to complain of his situation, or utter any expression of regret, that he had engaged in a cause, with which such a number of privations, and sufferings of the body were combined, but on the contrary, bore whatever befel him with Christian fortitude, and even with cheerfulness—plain yet cleanly in his attire—regular in his meals when attainable

and at no time overcharging his stomach—avoiding spirituous liquors; and taking as much manual exercise, as his time would allow; these, with a good constitution, may perhaps have been the means of his generally enjoying good health, and living to such an advanced age.

During the time of his being a missionary, he learned two different Indian languages; the Onondago (one of the idioms of the Six Nations) and the Delaware, and understood other languages connected with them. In the Onondago, he, about the year 1768, wrote and completed, two grammars, one written in English, and the other in German, and a copious dictionary, (German and Indian), containing upwards of one thousand seven hundred pages. In the language of the Lenape, (or Delaware,) he published in the year 1776, his first edition of a spelling book, and 1806, his second edition enlarged. Two other books were published by him in this language the one sermons to children, and the other an hymn book, containing about three hundred and sixty pages and upwards of five hundred hymns, translated by him, partly from the German, and partly from the English hymn book, which is in use in the Brethren's congregations. In manuscript, he left a grammar of the Delaware language, written in German, which has lately been translated into English, for the American philosophical society by my much esteemed friend Peter S. Du Ponceau, esq. of Philadelphia; and also

a translation into Delaware, of the Harmony of the Four Gospels: the publication of which, for the benefit of the Christian Indians, is undertaken by the female Auxiliary Missionary Society of Bethlehem, aided by voluntary personal contributions of friends and well-wishers to the cause, of various denominations, among whom the venerable president of the American bible society, Dr. Elias Boudinot, stands conspicuous.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 93 line 10 *for* Ruchline, *read* Kuchline.
96 2 *for* turena, *read* nature.
109 8 and 22 *for* Cusheushke, *read* Cuschcushke.
111 27 *for* oteey, *read* oteney.
112 13 *for* he *read* the.
113 26 *for* a young man, *read* Youngman.
151 22 *for* formerly, *read* formally,
152 15 *for* missionaries, *read* memories.
195 1 *for* horing, *read* hosing, (the word is Gokhosing.)
199 8 *for* remained, *read* remainder.
235 last line of note, *for* sweet, *read* sweat.
290 18 *for* Ohio, *read* Miami.
320 26 and 27 *for* Jacob who had been, *read* the one whom Jacob had seen.
335 3 *for* Race, *read* Rau.

The name "Lockiel," which frequently occurs throughout this work, should be "Loskiel."

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